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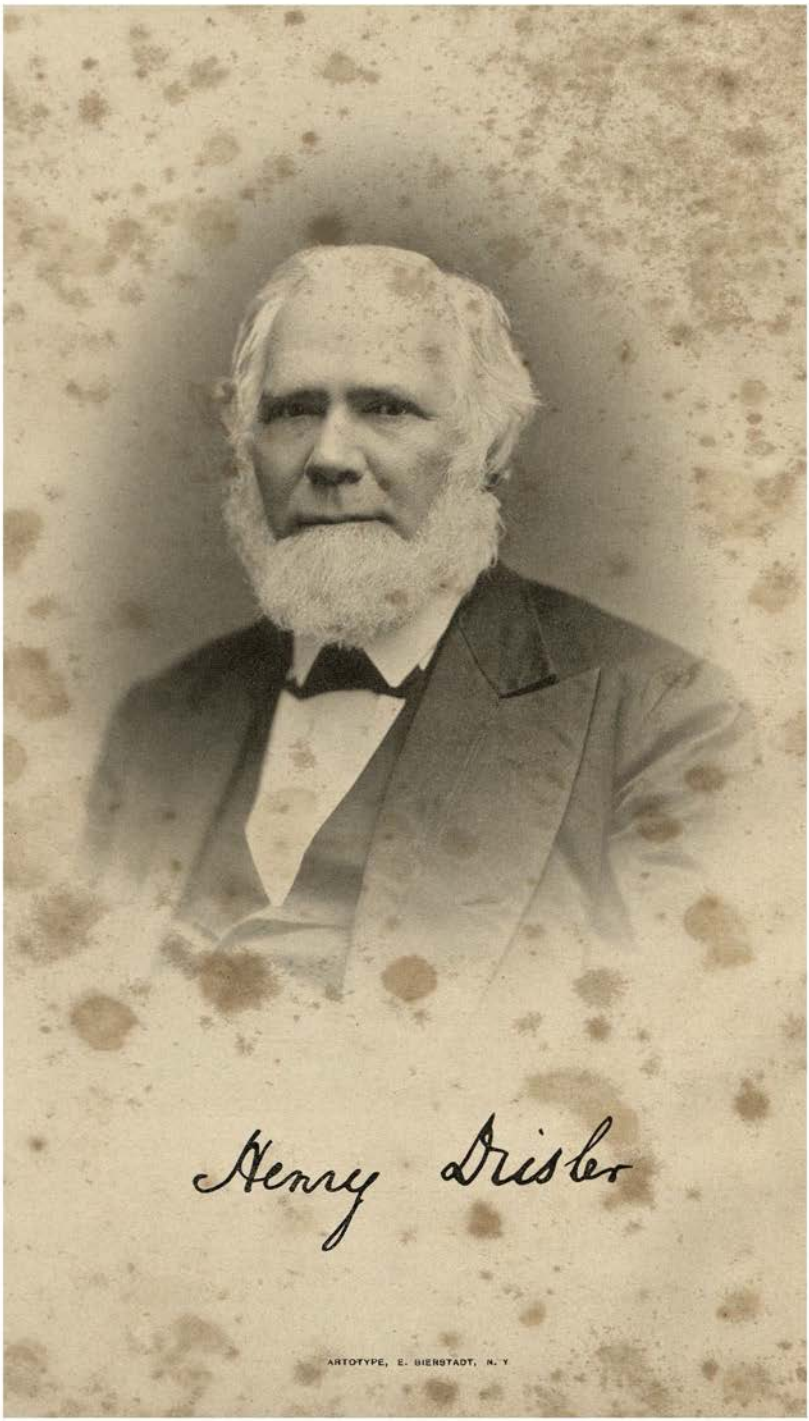
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CLASSICAL STUDIES IN HONOUR OF HENRY DRISLER

CLASSICAL STUDIES

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Henry Drisler

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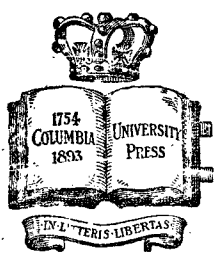

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On the Meaning of *nauta* and *viator* in Horace, Sat. i. 5, 11–23.

"Tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautae
ingerere: 'Huc adpelle!' 'Trecentos inseris.' 'Ohe,
iam satis est.' Dum aes exigitur, dum mula ligatur,
tota abit hora. Mali culices ranaeque palustres
avertunt somnos. Absentem cantat amicam
multa prolutus vappa nauta, atque viator
certatim. Tandem fessus dormire viator
incipit ac missae pastum retinacula mulae
nauta piger saxo religat stertitque supinus.
Iamque dies aderat, nil cum procedere lintrem
sentimus; donec cerebrosus prosilit unus
ac mulae nautaeque caput lumbosque saligno
fuste dolat. Quarta vix demum exponimur hora."

Although the general sense of these lines is clear, yet two words in vv. 16–17 have occasioned much discussion, and in fact appear to defy exact definition. Nor do I believe that their real meaning in this passage can ever be determined to the entire satisfaction of Horatian students. It is the prevalence of opinion, however, in what seems to me to be the wrong direction that prompts me to avail myself of this opportunity to discuss the question somewhat at length, and to present a few points in favour of my own view of the matter.

The words referred to are *nauta* and *viator*. It is the latter in particular that is the subject of dispute. What is the sense of *viator* here? The question seems an easy one at first sight. *Viator* is a "wayfarer," "traveller," say the dictionaries very correctly. But this is insufficient for our purpose. It is important to know also whether *viator* in this passage is a passenger on board of the canal boat, or whether (taking the word collectively) it represents the passengers in a body, or whether the mule-driver is intended, or a foot-passenger of some sort on the bank of the canal. One of these four interpretations surely must be the correct one, for to imagine a

fifth is impossible. Yet all four present difficulties of one kind or another.

Again the word *nauta* must signify either a boatman at the rudder, or a boatman in charge of the mule and walking on the tow-path. Now it is evident that *nauta* is the same individual in vv. 16, 19, and 22. In vv. 19 and 22 he is certainly represented as on shore. In the first instance he ties the *retinacula* of the mule to a stone; in the second he receives a cudgelling from a person who leaps ashore to administer it. It is most probable then that he is on shore in v. 16 also, for the purpose of guiding the mule. If this be not the case, some one else must have been in charge of the mule — some other *nauta* whom Horace finds no occasion to mention, — for no one who has seen a canal can doubt that two persons are required to operate a canal boat successfully, and it is not likely that Horace's experience was different in this respect from that of other people. If, however, the *nauta* of the text was at the rudder, it would have been the business of the other *nauta* to tether the mule, and it would have been he who should receive the beating at the hands of the *cerebrosus*. Hence it must be inferred that a *nauta* who is not mentioned was at the helm. Nor does this inference involve us in any serious difficulty. It is clear from vv. 4 and 11 that *nautae* were plenty at Forum Appi, and there is no reason to assume, as many critics do, that only one of these accompanied the party on the canal. The poet does not give us all the particulars of the journey, and it is often necessary to read between the lines. Though the principal business of the *nauta* kept him on the tow-path, he may have been none the less the person of highest responsibility for the safe conduct of the boat, to whose will that of any other boatman would be subject, and whose determination to stop the boat during a portion of the night could not be disputed by his colleague. The view just presented is supported in part by Döderlein, Fritsche, and Keightley. Most of the commentators, however, place the *nauta* of the text on board the boat, or else leave the question undecided.

To return to *viator:* it would be illogical to reason against the interpretation "mule-driver," on the ground that we have already found one in the person of the *nauta*, for the latter's place is a subject for argument in this paper. Yet there can be no harm in adding our decision regarding the *nauta* to accumulated evidence bearing on the question of the *viator*. Aside from this, of the four ways in which *viator* here may be understood the one just mentioned appears to be the farthest from the truth, in spite of Acron's note, *nauta in*

nave, vtator qui mulam ducebat. Nowhere else in Latin literature is *viator* to be found in this sense. Moreover, there is the insuperable objection that such an hypothesis would compel us to expect *viator* in place of *nauta* in vv. 19 and 22, for it would then be the business of the *viator* to tether the mule, and it would be he, and not the *nauta*, who should be the recipient of the punishment described in the text. Besides, why should the *nauta*, who under these circumstances would be in the boat, go ashore to perform an office that did not belong to him? The number of commentators favouring this interpretation is small. Among them are the names of Heindorf, Chase, and, strange to say, Kiessling.

Let us assume, now, that *viator* is a passenger, sitting or reclining in the boat. The word is so understood by Wickham, Koch (*Wört. z. d. Ged. d. Q. Hor. Fl.*), and others, and it is certainly a plausible theory. Yet the objections to it are of no slight importance. Chief among them are the derivation of the word, and its use, not only in other authors, but also in Horace himself. Of this, more will be said presently. A minor point is that if the *nauta* be on the tow-path, the *viator* should be there too. Looking at the text, we find the *viator* and the *nauta* always acting in company. It is *nauta atque viator* in v. 16, and in the following verses the words are again joined by *ac*. The *viator* fraternizes with the *nauta*, and it is by his example that the latter is guided in the matter of going to sleep. They should not then be separated, it would seem; and though the position of the *nauta* has been the subject of argument, yet if the decision already reached on this point is the correct one, it is certainly not to be lost sight of in determining the character of the *viator*.

If we take *viator* as a collective noun, representing the passengers in a body (cf. *miles*, and other words so used), fresh difficulties present themselves. If *viator* is collective in v. 17, it should be collective also in v. 16, since in the two places it has evidently the same meaning. But in v. 16 *viator* cannot be a collective noun, unless we suppose that all the passengers were vying with the *nauta* in singing of their absent lady-loves, — which is absurd. It has been argued in support of the collective idea that "it was their (the passengers') falling asleep that made possible the stopping of the boat, and that the scholiast Porphyrio so understood it" (see Kirkland's edition of the *Satires* and *Epistles*, and Orelli's note); but a scholiast's note may be of little value, and, as we have seen, Acron's on *nauta* is untenable; and the consideration that under no circumstances could

the *nauta* have been sure that he would be unobserved, ought to disabuse our minds of the impression that he waited till his passengers were asleep before venturing to stop the boat and rest himself and his mule. Had the *nauta* not been entitled to make at least a brief halt during the night, he would scarcely have dared to steal a nap on the assumption that the people in the boat were too deep in sleep to note what was happening. To understand it so is to make too much of *sentimus* in v. 21. The beating inflicted on the *nauta*, in v. 22, was owing merely to his having slept beyond a reasonable hour, — a fact due in part to the effect of the wine he had taken the evening before. The passengers were entitled to arrive at their destination in the early morning (*cf.* Strabo, 233). They were now in a position to fail of this by perhaps three hours. The consequence is that one of them, less patient than the rest, vents his indignation on both *nauta* and mule, by administering to each a sound thrashing, the result of which, it may be inferred, was a quick start and a hasty journey the rest of the way to Feronia. It has also been argued that the expression, *fessus dormire incipit*, is applicable only to a person already either sitting or reclining, and that as no change, in the case of the *viator*, from an erect to a recumbent attitude, is mentioned, the *viator* could not have been walking on the tow-path before he went to sleep (see the notes of Fritsche and Schütz). There would be more force in this argument were its premise unimpeachable. *Incipit* is certainly suggestive of preparation, and though the transition from the idea of physical activity to that of rest is a sudden one here, it is scarcely more so than at *stertit*, in v. 19. This is a way with Horace. He often goes with a bound from one thought to another, and many details are omitted from his story, which if given would add both smoothness and lucidity to the narrative.

The theory that *viator* means "passenger" here is not supported by a very large band of critics; but the same theory modified so as to make the word collective, has a backing numerically greater than that attaching to any one of the four possible interpretations given above. Among the critics belonging to this latter class are Orelli, Schütz, Döderlein, Kirkland, the scholiast Porphyrio, and Dr. Charlton T. Lewis. Professor Greenough wavers between "passenger" and "passengers," and adds, "The word ordinarily means a passenger on foot, but here the supposition of a traveller on the tow-path seems absurd." This brings us to the main point. In spite of the great weight of opinion the other way, I do not believe that either "passenger" or "passengers" is what Horace intended, much less

what in general may be deemed a correct interpretation of the word *viator*. Of the four definitions already mentioned as possible, the fourth and last (*ie.* traveller on foot) is in my judgment the true one, "absurd" as it may seem. It is the definition in whose favour the most may be said, and against which the fewest and least important objections can be brought. Let us look at the evidence. In the first place, on this hypothesis, most of the difficulties already alluded to as existing in the text are obviated. The *viator* and *nauta*, both of them persons of low degree, may now fraternize to their heart's content on the tow-path. When they are weary, — the one from his long tramp, *via* (cf. Livy, i. 7, *fessum via Herculem procubuisse*), the other because he is constitutionally lazy (*piger*) and half intoxicated, — they go to rest by the wayside, as is not uncommon with men of humble condition. There is no longer any possible incongruity in the application of the words *absentem cantat amicam*, and the confusion in the text, arising from making *viator* the mule-driver, no longer confronts us. The apparent absurdity, too, which Professor Greenough speaks of is diminished when we consider the probability that the Appia Via was at this time in existence, and ran near to and parallel with the canal (see Strabo, 233); and that there must have been many a poor foot-traveller on this road who could not afford to pay his fare by boat. The fare may, possibly, have been small, but it was exacted without fail, or Horace would not speak of it as occupying nearly an hour in the collecting (see v. 13). Nor will it do to protest that if the *nauta* and *viator* were on the bank of the canal, their singing would not have disturbed the sleep of the passengers. The latter could hear the croaking of the frogs and the buzzing of the insects (v. 15), and the discomfort resulting from this would not have been lessened by the singing of two men on the tow-path, especially as each voice was raised in the effort to drown the other (*certatim*). Moreover, the voices were not far distant, for the boat was a light one, the canal narrow as compared with those of modern times, and the tow-rope of no great length.

In the second place, over and above all these considerations, there is the one important fact that the common and classical use of the word *viator* is to denote a traveller by land, and not by boat. Horace distinctly adheres to this use in every other place where it occurs in his writings. The three instances are: *Sat.* i. 5. 90, *ultra callidus ut soleat umeris* (*panem*) *portare viator; Sat.* i. 7. 30, *cui saepe viator cessisset magna conpellans voce cuculum; C.* iii. 4. 32, *insanientem navita Bosporum temptabo et urentis arenas litoris Assyrii*

viator. In the last of these, *viator* is distinctly one who travels by land, in contrast to one who travels by sea. In the first and second examples, the *viator* is surely on foot. Again, in Cicero, *de Fato*, 15. 34, *hoc enim modo viator quoque vestitus causa grassatori fuisse diceretur cur ab eo spoliaretur; Milo*, 21. 55, *quia non semper viator a latrone, non numquam etiam latro a viatore occiditur;* Cæsar, *B. G.* iv. 5, *est autem hoc Gallicae consuetudinis, uti et viatores etiam invitos consistere cogant;* Vergil, *Georg.* iv. 97, *ceu pulvere ab alto quom venit et sicco terram spuit ore viator aridus; Æn.* v. 275, *qualis saepe viae deprensus in aggere serpens, aerea quem oblicum rota transit aut gravis ictu seminecem liquit saxo lacerumque viator;* Phædrus, *Fab.* ii. 1. 5, *forte innoxius viator est deductus in eundem locum, feroque viso retulit retro pedem;* Ovid, *Tr.* ii. 271, *et latro et cautus praecingitur ense viator: ille sed insidias, hic sibi portat opem;* Martial, xi. 13. 1, *quisquis Flaminiam teris, viator, noli nobile praeterire marmor;* Juvenal, x. 22, *cantat vacuus coram latrone viator* — in all of these examples *viator* has one and the same meaning, that of traveller on shore, though not in every case necessarily on foot. In Martial, ii. 6. 14, *lassus tam cito deficis viator,* the *lassus viator* is a weary traveller on the Appian Way. It matters not that in the epigram the expression is figurative, or that the traveller is not on foot. The words afford a distinct parallel to the *fessus viator* of our text.

The examples cited should be sufficient proof that the word *viator* is only properly employed of a person travelling by land, and that to stretch its meaning here until it shall serve as a synonym for *vector* (the regular word in Cicero, Vergil, Ovid, and other writers for a passenger by boat), is to induce Horace to depart from good usage. What then is the *viator* of our text? Clearly a man on foot, whose destination lay in the same direction as that of Horace's party, and who was too poor to pay his fare by boat. He joins the *nauta* who is guiding the mule, and the two men sing as they go. Singing was a common practice with pedestrians in ancient Italy (cf. Juv. x. 22, cited above), and if there were two persons in company, the incentive thus to beguile the time was apparently the stronger. An illustration of this is the case of Lycidas and Moeris, in Vergil's ninth eclogue, v. 64, where the former says: *cantantes licet usque (minus via laedit) eamus; cantantes ut eamus, ego hoc te fasce levabo.* Nothing then is more natural than the view presented, while on philological grounds it would seem to have the best support; and although the idea is not a new one, it may have been worth while to argue for it, since the general trend of opinion is the other way.

Among the commentators whose opinions are in the main in accord with the purpose of this paper, are Krüger and Dillenburger. The former after citing v. 90, and *Sat.* i. 7. 30, adds: "schwerlich ein in dem Kahne sitzender Passagier, *vector*, noch weniger sämtliche Passagiere (der Singular kollektivisch gefasst, sodass auch Horaz mit einbegriffen wäre), sondern ein am Ufer nebenher Gehender, der sich zu dem Fährmanne gesellt hat. Nachdem jener sich zum Schlafen niedergelegt hat, ahmt dieser sein Beispiel nach, indem er das vom Kahne los- und an einem Stein gebundene Maultier grasen lässt." Dillenburger's note is: *viator autem mulio non est, sed vilioris condicionis homo qui idem iter pedibus facit.*

I have omitted *ut* from v. 13, in accordance with Porphyrio's lemma and the reading of some good manuscripts. The result is an asyndeton that greatly improves the effect, and is quite in keeping with Horace's style.

SIDNEY G. ASHMORE.

UNION COLLEGE, SCHENECTADY, N.Y.,
March, 1894.

Anaximander on the Prolongation of Infancy in Man.

A NOTE ON THE HISTORY OF THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION.

EVER since the doctrine of organic evolution began to attract serious attention, about forty years ago, students of Greek philosophy have repeatedly called attention to cosmological opinions put forward by the ancients that parallel in a curious way, or else directly foreshadow, discoveries that are a part of the glory of modern science. Zeller, in his brilliant essay, "Die griechischen Vorgänger Darwins,"[1] points out that not a few fruitful scientific ideas that were the property of the early Greek philosophers were first forgotten by the Greeks themselves, then overlooked by the Middle Ages, and finally re-discovered and fully demonstrated with great *éclat* by the modern scientific spirit. Among the pre-Socratic thinkers Zeller cites Anaximander and Xenophanes as leading examples of philosophers who exhibited this form of prescience.

The close analogy between Anaximander's theory of the development of the earth from a fluid state of matter and of man from the lower animals, and the modern scientific theories, has been repeatedly pointed out. It is fully and ably discussed by Teichmüller,[2] and his conclusions as to the essentially scientific character of Anaximander's opinions will not be denied. It is idle to dismiss them as mere guesses, when the grounds upon which they rest are stated.

But while it has been noticed that Anaximander mentioned the fact that the period of infancy in man is longer than in the lower animals, the full importance of the passage has not been recognized, nor has its agreement with the extremely important contribution by Mr. John Fiske to the general theory of evolution been pointed out.

[1] *Vorträge u. Abhandlungen*, iii. 37.
[2] *Studien zur Geschichte der Begriffe*, S. 63.

The passage in which Anaximander's theory is preserved for us is quoted from Plutarch by Eusebius, *Præp. Evan.*, i. 8. 2. It is also collated by Diels, *Doxographi Græci*, 579. 17. It reads as follows: —

Ἔτι φησίν, ὅτι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐξ ἀλλοειδῶν ζῴων ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐγεννήθη, ἐκ τοῦ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δι' ἑαυτῶν ταχὺ νέμεσθαι, μόνον δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον πολυχρονίου δεῖσθαι τιθηνήσεως· διὸ καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐκ ἄν ποτε τοιοῦτον ὄντα διασωθῆναι.

"Further, he [Anaximander] says that in the beginning man was born from animals of a different species. His reason is, that, while other animals quickly find food for themselves, *man alone requires a prolonged period of suckling. Hence, had man been originally such as he is now, he could never have survived.*"

Reading this passage in connection with the fragments of Anaximander collated by Mullach,[1] and with the references to be found in Ritter and Preller's *Historia Philosophiæ Græcæ*, it is clear that Anaximander observed and understood the main point in connection with the prolongation of the period of infancy in man; namely, that it affords a needed opportunity for the adjustment of the complex physical and psychical activities to their environment.

This fact has been pointed out and illustrated by Mr. John Fiske, who rightly considers his treatment of it an important contribution to the doctrine of evolution, and one necessary for its completion.

The materials out of which Mr. Fiske constructed his doctrine are: (1) the experience of Wallace in trying to bring up a baby orang-outang;[2] (2) Wallace's emphasis on the importance of psychical rather than physical variations in the highest animals;[3] and (3) the statement by Herbert Spencer[4] that where the psychical life is complex there is not time for all capacities to become organized before birth. Thus far Mr. Fiske and Anaximander are in entire agreement. The remainder of Mr. Fiske's theory is stated for the first time by himself. It is, briefly, that (1) the slight physical and stupendous psychical difference between man and ape, and (2) the enormous duration of man's pre-historic and quasi-dumb existence, make it clear that (3) the lengthening of infancy must be caused by the necessity for development of increasingly complex physical and psychical adaptions, and in time must suffice to effect the gradual differentiation of a horde into primeval family groups.

[1] *Fragmenta Philosophorum Græcorum*, i. 240.

[2] Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, p. 53.

[3] Wallace, *Natural Selection*, pp. 311–331.

[4] *Principles of Psychology*, *passim*.

Mr. Fiske's own statement of his theory is to be found in his *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy* (tenth edition, New York, 1889), ii. 159, 342, and in his *Excursions of an Evolutionist* (ninth edition, Boston, 1889), in a paper entitled "The Meaning of Infancy." That which is for Anaximander an *aperçu*, becomes with Mr. Fiske a scientific discovery.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

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Of Two Passages in Euripides' Medea.

Vv. 6–16.

οὐ γὰρ ἂν δέσποιν' ἐμὴ
Μήδεια πύργους γῆς ἔπλευσ' Ἰωλκίας
ἔρωτι θυμὸν ἐκπλαγεῖσ' Ἰάσονος
οὐδ' ἄν, κτανεῖν πείσασα Πελιάδας κόρας
πατέρα, κατώικει τήνδε γῆν Κορινθίαν
ξὺν ἀνδρὶ καὶ τέκνοισιν, ἀνδάνουσα μὲν
φυγῆι πολιτῶν ὧν ἀφίκετο χθόνα·
αὐτή τε πάντα ξυμφέρουσ' Ἰάσονι —
ἥπερ μεγίστη γίγνεται σωτηρία,
ὅταν γυνὴ πρὸς ἄνδρα μὴ διχοστατῆι —
νῦν δ' ἐχθρὰ πάντα καὶ νοσεῖ τὰ φίλτατα.

THE passage ἀνδάνουσα . . . χθόνα has long been a bone of contention among students of Euripides. Indeed, their attention has been so much engrossed with such questions as whether ἀνδάνουσα be the right word in the right place, and whether φυγῆι can be construed as it stands or is in need of emendation, that they have quite overlooked a point in v. 13 that would otherwise, it should seem, have been quite obvious. The word αὐτή, as it stands, marks a contrast between two actions of the same subject, between the action expressed by ἀνδάνουσα (whether we read this or Nauck's λανθάνουσα does not affect the point at issue) and that expressed by ξυμφέρουσα. Medea is thus represented as 'pleasing' somebody and 'herself in accord with Jason.' But it is obvious that the function of a form of αὐτός in the second half of a balanced compound clause should be the intensification of the latter of two contrasted terms, — here (we should expect) Jason as opposed to the citizens of Corinth. (Cf. *Androm.* 7–12, where the complex πόσιν μὲν . . . παῖδά θ' is contrasted with αὐτὴ δὲ.) The first step, therefore, in order to the elucidation of the passage before us is the restoration of αὐτῶι at the head of v. 13. We next proceed to an examination of the preceding clause.

That ἀνδάνουσα φυγῇι πολιτῶν ὧν ἀφίκετο χθόνα could not be understood by an Attic audience in the sense of 'pleasing the citizens to whose land (city) she had come by flight' seems so self-evident that Nauck's sarcasm (*Eurip. Studd.*, i. p. 107) is hardly necessary to demolish the laboured construing of Hermann and (by anticipation) Weil. It is also pretty clear that πολίταις of *b* (= Cod. Vatican. 909, *man. sec. seu tert.*) is an attempt on somebody's part to make the sentence yield more easily the sense of 'pleasing by her flight the citizens to whose land (city) she had come.' (Cf. the schol. τὸ δὲ πολιτῶν ἀντὶ δοτικῆς, τοῖς πολίταις.) But in the context such a sense is nonsense. As for Vitelli's interpretation of ὧν as = *suorum* (*Philologus*, xxxix. p. 164), it needs but to be seen to be hated.

Nauck, who rejects all attempts at emending φυγῇι, has found another and, as he thinks, a better way of saving that word, viz. the changing of ἀνδάνουσα to λανθάνουσα (he reads, of course, τέκνοισι for τέκνοισιν). Thus Medea is made to live in seclusion, shunning the citizens of Corinth and entirely devoted to her husband. Of course, this reading requires δὲ (which Stobæus gives) instead of τε in v. 13, as Nauck rightly says. (It is strange that it did not occur to him that αὐτῶι was equally necessary; but then, as he himself says elsewhere (*Eurip. Studd.*, i. p. 118), it is an acknowledged fact that "auch die einfachsten Dinge zuweilen von den bedeutendsten Kritikern nicht gesehen werden.") But we may fairly ask whether the reference to seclusion on Medea's part is at all in point here, and whether, too, v. 13 expresses a proper and adequate contrast to such seclusion. Besides, would not the thought that Nauck attributes to Euripides have been naturally put in the form λανθάνουσα φυγῇι πολίτας = φεύγουσα πολίτας? And, after all, is 'avoiding by flight' the same as 'living retired from'? A still more fatal objection is to be found in v. 16. Here νοσεῖ τὰ φίλτατα refers, of course, to Jason's perfidy. Does not then ἐχθρὰ πάντα refer to the other class alluded to above, the people of Corinth, who were formerly friendly to Medea, but are now, as represented in their royal family, become her foes? These and like considerations seem to demand the rejection of Nauck's emendation and to confine us to some correction of φυγῇι. For this we are now somewhat better prepared by the substitution of αὐτῶι for αὐτῆ.

The corruption in αὐτῆ seems evidently due to the influence of the word above it — a frequent source of error, particularly in the text of Sophocles. It may be conjectured, too, with some proba-

bility that the corruption arose in a text in which the word at the head of v. 12 had no *iota adscriptum*. However, that is a minor matter. The real gain that we seem to derive from the emendation αὐτῶι for deciding the question what word stood originally at the head of v. 12 is this: it ended in a syllable capable of ready confusion with -TH (-THI), *i.e.* in either -TH (-THI) or -ΓH (-ΓHI). (The corruption is an old one; for the scholiasts endeavour to explain the traditional text, and the carelessly written Didot papyrus, dated by Blass earlier than 161 B.C. and containing *inter alia Med.*, 5–12, agrees substantially with our best Euripidean codices [φυγη is probably for φυγηι and χονος a mere blunder]. See Weil. *Un Papyrus inédit.*, etc., Paris, 1879, and Blass in *Rhein. Mus.*, new series, xxxv. p. 82 *sq.*) We must now decide upon the two other letters of the word.

It should be noted that we have in the successive vv. 11, 12, 13, the initial syllables ξυ-, φυ-, αυ-. The first and third are clearly sound; the second is in doubt. The υ is in suspicious company with υ both under it and over it; the first letter might have arisen from attempted correction of a corrupted form, *e.g.* αὐγή. Let us see now what are the more probable attempts of modern scholars to correct φυγῆι, setting aside altogether such emendations as give πολίταις or πολίτας for πολιτῶν. (For the several conjectures see Nauck, *Eurip. Studd.*, i. p. 107, and Wecklein's *Krit. Anhang* to his *Medea.*)

Canter suggested φυλῆι (which, as Elmsley said, should at least be φύλωι) and ψυχῆι (much better); Wyttenbach, φύσει; C. Hartung, φίλη. None of these satisfies the conditions of the case as stated above, and φίλη is in itself decidedly flat — a mere gloss on ἀνδάνουσα. Musgrave, comparing Soph. *Aj.* 1153 and Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 89 (173), proposed ὀργῆι — 'pleasing the temper of the citizens to whose land she had come.' This seems to be the very word we want. In such a position it could readily give rise to φυγῆι. (For the corruption of φ into ο cf. Eur. *fr.* 945, where Nauck has corrected ὄυντες to φύντες.)

We might pause here, were it not that two other words in our passage have been called in question, μὲν after ἀνδάνουσα and τε after αὐτή (αὐτῶι). The question as to the propriety of the latter particle is in great measure bound up with the discussion of the former. Let us first, then, examine μὲν.

Could the nurse's "futureless" wishes have been fulfilled, Medea would not have left home, nor have come to Iolcus, nor have pro-

cured the death of Pelias, nor have been dwelling at Corinth with her husband and children. The last clause is insufficient in this form. It is merely the beginning of the Corinthian chapter in Medea's history. This the nurse relates in true Greek fashion — general and past first, particular and present afterwards. The general and past are the happy and peaceful life of Medea, when she pleased the citizens and lived in harmony with him (*αὐτῶι*) — her lord and master Jason. This is a wife's greatest security — perfect concord with her husband. But now all that is changed. Then follow the particulars of the present evil case. Vv. 6–16 thus form a logical unity. The participles *ἀνδάνουσα* and *ξυμφέρουσα* are the necessary complements of *κατώικει*, and with it form the introduction to the catastrophe ushered in by *νῦν δ'*. *κατώικει* with its concomitants is thus seen to be subordinate in thought to *νῦν δ' κτέ.*: 'nor would she, after a period of general friendship and of harmony with Jason, have incurred universal enmity and the ruin of her wifely estate.' So then *μὲν* appended to the former of the two important concomitants of *κατώικει* finds its proper correlative in the *δ'* that follows *νῦν*. The *πρὶν* accepted in Prinz's text as a substitute for *μὲν* is unnecessary, — the more so because the continuative force of the tense in the complex *κατώικει — ἀνδάνουσα — ξυμφέρουσα* requires, according to a familiar principle of Greek style, no external sign to indicate its nature as preliminary to a catastrophe.

We come now at last to *τε*. Inasmuch as *μὲν* finds its proper logical and grammatical correlative in *δ'* after *νῦν*, a *δὲ* after *αὐτῶι* would serve only to divert the mind of hearer or reader from the proper sequence of the thought. The *τε* is amply sufficient at once to link the correlated participles and (thanks, perhaps, to the use of *τε . . . τε* as a light *μὲν . . . δὲ*) to mark the balance between them. For similar sequences of *μὲν . . . τε . . . δὲ*, cf. *Med.* 125–8 (an excellent parallel to the passage we have just discussed), 232–240 (where the *μὲν* after *πρῶτα* finds its ultimate correlative in v. 238), *Androm.* 7–12 (cited above). In two passages of Sophocles (*Ant.* 1162–5 and *Trach.* 1011 *sq.*) we find *μὲν . . . τε . . . καὶ νῦν* used, though within a briefer compass, precisely like *μὲν . . . τε . . . νῦν δ'* in our passage of the *Medea*.

To recapitulate, then, I would accept Musgrave's *ὀργῆι* for *φυγῆι*, change *αὐτή* to *αὐτῶι*, and follow the tradition of the Euripidean codices in the rest.

Vv. 502–4.

νῦν ποῖ τράπωμαι; πότερα πρὸς πατρὸς δόμους,
οὓς σοὶ προδοῦσα καὶ πάτραν ἀφικόμην;
ἢ πρὸς ταλαίνας Πελιάδας;

'Under these circumstances whither shall I betake myself? To my father's house, which I abandoned for you, as I did also my native land, and — came? Or, etc.' That is all the words can mean; and it requires only an attempt to interpret v. 503 to see that it needs emendation in the word *ἀφικόμην*. This, as it stands, demands some expression of the goal, or of the concomitant, as in v. 32 *sq.* *οἴκους θ', οὓς προδοῦσ' ἀφίκετο | μετ' ἀνδρὸς ὅς κτέ.* It is, therefore, surprising that only Naber (*Mnemosyne, nov. ser.*, x. [1882] p. 10) seems to have taken offence at the inadequacy of *ἀφικόμην*. ("Balbutientis oratio est vs. 503," he says.) His emendation *ἅμ' ἑσπόμην*, 'I followed you' (*σοὶ* construed with *ἅμ' ἑσπ.* as well as with *προδοῦσα*?), is accepted by Wecklein in his latest edition of the *Medea* (1891). But such a correction has little palæographical probability. The remedy is, I believe, much simpler. The error in the MSS. is due primarily to itacism; partly to v. 32 (cited above); and partly, perhaps, to an attempt to produce a formal concord between *προδοῦσα* and its verb. Read *ἀφήκαμεν*, 'which I abandoned for you and lost my country into the bargain.'

On the forms *-ῆκαμεν*, *ἐθήκαμεν*, and *ἐδώκαμεν* see Veitch. Cf. also Meisterhans, *Gram. Att. Inschr.*,[2] p. 151, n. 1306.

For examples of similar rapid shift of number between participle and verb in the first person see Eur. *H. F.* 858 and the examples in Paley's note *ad loc.* (all sing. part. with pl. vb.), and *I. T.* 777 (dual particip., pl. vb.).

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The Preliminary Military Service of the Equestrian Cursus Honorum.

A STUDY IN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS.

THE predominating influence of military affairs in the history of the Roman state is a sufficient explanation of the close relation existing between the civil and military administration of the government of Rome, a relation which is clearly shown in the demand for military training as an indispensable qualification for one who aspired to official position in the civil government.

Such a theory, prevailing generally before the seventh century of the city, was in that period legally recognized by legislative enactment, and military service of at least ten years was required as preliminary to the tenure of the quæstorship, the initial office of a magisterial career. The later days of the republic witnessed modifications in this law looking mainly to a reduction in the number of years of service. In the imperial period, the principle was reconfirmed by Augustus in the requirement that young men of senatorial rank should serve for one year as *tribuni militum* before entering upon their *cursus honorum.*

In conformity with early theories, and in imitation of the similar usage in the senatorial order, upon the reorganization of the *equites* and the selection of *equites equo publico* as the special body from which officers of administration should be drawn, Augustus made military experience requisite for an appointment to a procuratorship, the initial office of the equestrian career.

A knowledge of this preliminary military service can be obtained from the inscriptions of the first three centuries of the empire. *Tituli virorum dignitatis equestris* regularly present the titles of the several offices of the military career, as well as those of the various procuratorships and præfectures. These titles appear in an order determined by the importance and grade of the various positions, and arranged in an ascending or descending scale.

The accompanying table indicates in an ascending scale the various offices of the equestrian military service preliminary to the procuratorship, obtained from inscriptions which refer to *procuratores* and admit of approximate dating. The entire military service, as it appears in the inscriptions, is shown, with the exception of special appointments, such as *praepositus*, which may be considered as *extra ordinem*.

The various positions indicated are those of *centurio* (C), in a legion or in one of the cohorts of the city garrison; *cohortes vigilum, cohortes urbanae, cohortes praetoriae* (C.$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{V.}\\\text{U.}\\\text{P.}\end{matrix}\right.$, when held in succession); *primipilus* (P.P.), centurion of the first rank; *praefectus fabrum* (Pr. Fab.), commander of army engineers; *praefectus cohortis* (Pr. Coh.), commander of an auxiliary cohort; *tribunus militum* (Tr. M.), a tribune of a legion; *tribunus cohortis* (Tr. Coh.), commander of certain auxiliary cohorts, as *cohortes milliariae* (No. 18), an officer who, like the tribunes of the city cohorts (Tr. Coh.$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{V.}\\\text{U.}\\\text{P.}\end{matrix}\right.$, when held in succession), was of the same grade as a tribune of a legion; *praefectus alae* (Pr. Al.), commander of an auxiliary cavalry squadron; *praefectus castrorum legionis*, the officer locating and superintending the camp.

The *praefectura fabrum* is regarded by some[1] as one of the *militiae equestres*, but Mommsen[2] has shown that, although the office was filled from the equestrian order, it cannot be considered as forming part of the official military career. It does not appear after the time of Septimus Severus. *Primipilus iterum* (P.P. II.) is a title which indicates that the *eques* returned to the grade of *primipilus* after higher military service, so as to enjoy certain advantages which belonged to those who left the army from that position.[3] It is to be distinguished from *primipilus* or *primipilus bis* by the absence of the name of the legion which generally accompanies the title of the earlier office.

The inscriptions have been obtained from the following collections: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (C.I.L.); *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* (C.I.G.); *Inscriptiones Latinæ*, Orelli-Henzen (O.); *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Wilmanns (W.); *Inscriptiones Latinæ Selectæ*, Dessau (D.).

[1] Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, ii.[2] p. 517.

[2] *Staatsrecht*, ii.[3] p. 98.

[3] Mommsen, *C.I.L.* v. 867.

		Centurio.	Primipilus.	Praefectus Fabrum.	Praefectus Cohortis.	Tribunus Militum.	Praefectus Alae.	Primipilus Iterum.	Praefectus Legionis.	Date.
1. *C.I.L.* x. 1685.	L. Bovius Celer	....	....	Pr. Fab.	....	Tr. M.	....	....	....	Augustus.
2. x. 1711.	——	....	P.P.	....	....	Tr. Coh.	....	P.P. ii.	....	14–37
3. x. 3871.	[Vitr]asius [P]ollio	....	....	....	....	—	Pr. Al.	....	....	32
4. v. 1888.	C. Baebius Atticus	....	P.P.	....	....	Tr. Coh. P.	....	P.P. ii.	....	41–54
5. v. 583.	P. Papellius Quirinalis	....	P.P.	....	....	Tr. M.	....	....	....	57
6. xii. 5842.	Sex. Afranius Burrus	....	....	....	....	Tr. M.	....	....	....	41–68
7. *C.I.G.* 3991.	Λεύκιος Πούπλιος Πραίσενς	....	....	....	....	χειλίαρχος	ἔπαρχος ἄλης	....	....	41–68
8. O. 6767.	M. Vettius Valens	C. V. U. P.	....	....	....	Tr. Coh. V. U. P. / Tr. M.	....	....	....	66
9. vi. 1359.	L. Baebius Avitus	C.	....	Pr. Fab.	....	Tr. M.	....	....	....	69–79
10. iii. 726.	C. Manlius Felix	....	....	Pr.[2] Fab.	....	Tr.[1] M.	....	....	....	79–81
11. O. 3601.	——	....	....	....	....	Tr. M.	....	....	....	81–96
12. v. 584.	Q. Petronius Modestus	....	P.P. (bis)	....	....	Tr. Coh. V. U. P.	....	....	....	98–102
13. vi. 798.	Cn. Octavius Capito	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	....	....	....	96–117
14. iii. 6065.	[C. V]ibius Salviaris	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.		....	....	98–117
15. v. 875.	C. Minicius Italus	....	....	....	Pr. Coh. (ter)	Tr. M.	Pr. Al.	....	....	–105
16. viii. 9990.	P. Bessius Sabinus	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	Pr. Al.	....	....	96–117
17. ix. 4753.	[P.] Prifernius Apollinaris	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	Pr. Al.	....	....	98–117
18. O. 516.	C. Camurius Clemens	....	....	Pr. Fab.	Pr. Coh.	Tr. Coh.	Pr. Al.	....	....	98–117
19. xii. 1855.	[D. Iulius Capito]	....	....	....	....	Tr. M.	....	....	....	98–117
20. viii. 8934.	Sex. Cornelius Dexter	....	....	Pr. Fab.	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	Pr. Al.	....	....	117–138
21. O. 804.	M. Maenius Campestris	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. Coh.	Pr. Al.	....	....	117–138
22. O. 6947.	[T. Haterius]	....	P.P.	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	Pr. Al.	....	....	121

23. iii. 5776.	Cl. Pater[nu]s Clementianus	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	Pr. Al.	....	....	117–138
24. x. 7587.	—— Rufus	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M. (bis)	....	....	....	117–138
25. x. 6090.	L. Villius Atilianus	....	....	Pr. Fab.	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	....	....	....	117–138
26. x. 5829.	T. Pontius Sabinus	C.[3] (bis)	P.[4]P.	....	Pr.[1] Coh.	Tr.[2] M. Tr.[5] Coh. V. U. P.	....	P.[6] P. ii.	....	117–138
27. v. 6513.	C. Valerius Pansa	....	P.P. (bis)	....	....	Tr. Coh. P.	....	....	....	117–138
28. O. 2158.	L. Domitius Rogatus	....	....	....	Pr. Coh. (bis)	Tr. M.	Pr. Al.	....	....	137
29. vi. 1620.	C. Iunius Flavianus	....	....	....	....	Tr. M.	....	....	....	138–161
30. v. 867.	Tib. Claudius Secundinus	....	P.P.	....	....	Tr. Coh. V. U. P.	....	P.P. ii.	Pr. Leg.	138–161
31. iii. 5328.	L. Cammius Secundinus	....	P.P.	....	....	....	....	....	Pr. Leg.	140–143
32. *C.I.G.* ii. add. 1818, b.	Αι[κινίῳ] Ὀφ[ελλ]ίῳ	....	....	....	ἔπαρχος σπείρης πραιτωρίας	χειλίαρχος	....	....	....	2d cent.
33. ii. 1180.	Sex. Iulius Possessor	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	....	....	....	138–169
34. ii. 1970.	L. Valerius Proculus	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	....	....	....	2d cent.
35. O. 5480.	[M. Statius] Italicus	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M. (ter)	Pr. Al.	....	....	162
36. ix. 5357.	T. Appalius Secundus	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	Pr. Al.	....	....	161–169
37. iii. 5212.	T. Varius Clemens	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	Pr. Al. (bis) Pr. Aux.	....	....	161–169
38. v. 8660.	T. Desticius Severus	....	P.P.	....	....	....	....	....	....	166
39. *Eph. Ep.* v. 699.	C. Annius Flavianus	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	Pr. Al.	....	....	161–192
40. vi. 1625.	M. Petronius Honoratus	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	Pr. Al.	....	....	161–180
41. vi. 1599.	M. Bassaeus Rufus	....	P.P. (bis)	....	....	Tr. Coh. V. U. P.	....	....	....	161–180
42. xiv. 172.	Q. Petronius Melior	....	....	....	....	Tr. M.	....	....	....	184
43. D. 1327.	L. Iulius Iulianus	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. Coh.	Pr. Al. (bis)	....	....	178–192
44. vi. 1626.	Cn. Pompeius Longinus	....	P.P. (bis)	....	....	Tr. Coh. V. U. P.	....	....	....	176–192
45. ii. 4114.	Tib. Claudius Candidus	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	....	....	....	193–211
46. ix. 5439.	T. Cornasidius Sabinus	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	Pr. Al.	....	....	193–214
47. viii. 619.	Ti. Plautius Feruntianus	....	....	....	....	Tr. M.	Pr. Al.	....	....	193–217

		Centurio.	Primipilus.	Praefectus Fabrum.	Praefectus Cohortis.	Tribunus Militum.	Praefectus Alae.	Primipilus Iterum.	Praefectus Legionis.	Date.
48. x. 7583.	Q. Cosconius Fronto	....	....	Pr. Fab.	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	....	....	....	198–217
49. D. 1390.	Tib. Antistius Marcianus	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	Pr. Al.	....	....	198–217
50. *C.I.G.* 1186.	Γν. Κορνήλιος Ποῦλχερ.	....	....	....	....	χειλίαρχος	....	....	....	198–217
51. x. 6657.	M. Aquilius Felix	C.	P.P.	....	....	....	....	....		200
52. iii. 6075.	——	....	....	....	....	Tr. M.	Pr. Al.	....	....	203+
53. ix. 1582.	Cn. Marcius [Rufinus]	....	P.P. (bis)	....	....	Tr. Coh. V. U. P.	....	....	....	207
54. *C.I.G.* 3497.	Τ. Ἀντώνιος Ἀλφῆνος	....	....	....	ἔπαρχος σπείρας	χελίαρχος	ἔπαρχος εἴλης	....	....	212
55. iii. 1464.	Ulpius	C.	....	....	Pr. Coh.	Tr. M.	....	....	....	211–212
56. ii. 484.	C. Titius Agrippinensis	C. (bis)	P.P.	....	....	....	....	....	....	213–238
57. vi. 1636.	P. Vibius Marianus	C.[1]	P.[2]P.	....	....	Tr.[4] Coh. V. U. P.	....	P.P.[5] ii.	Pr.[3] Leg.	3d cent.
58. xiv. 3626.	L. Cominius Maximus	C. V. U. P.	....	....	....	Tr. Coh. V. U. P.	....	P.P.[2] ii.	Pr.[1] Leg.	213–222
59. O. 6519.	T. Claudius Ulpianus	....	....	....	....	Tr. Coh. (bis)	Pr. Al.	....	....	220
60. D. 1356.	[T. Lic]inius Hierocletus	....	P.P. (bis)	....	....	Tr. Coh. U. P.	....	....	Pr. Leg.	227
61. O. 5530.	C. Furius Timesitheus	....	....	....	Pr. Coh.	....	....	....	....	238–244
62. vi. 1645.	——	C.	P.P.	....	....	Tr. Coh. P.	....	....	....	244–249
63. xi. 1836.	L. Petronius Volusianus	C.	P.P.	....	....	Tr. M. V. U. P. / Tr. M. (bis)	....	....	....	261
64. iii. 1919.	L. Artori[us Iu]stus	C. (quater)	P.P.	....	....	....	....	....	Pr. Leg.	3d cent.
65. xi. 2698.	C. Rufus Festus	....	P.P.	....	....	Tr. Coh. V. U. P.	....	....	....	3d cent.
66. *C.I.G.* 4346.	—— βρωνίανοῦ Λολλιανοῦ	....	P.P.	....	....	....	....	....	....	3d cent.
67. O. 1065.	M. Artorius Vicasius	C.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	circ. 300

The equestrian military service during the three centuries of its history assumed four different forms, each of which deserves special consideration.

I. *Tribunatus Militum.*

The tribunate of the soldiers is the prevailing form of service during the first century. This is similar to the preliminary service in the senatorial career, and the inscriptions show little variation in the way of an additional office during this period. In inscriptions Nos. 3, 7, 15, the *praefectura alae* follows the tribunate. Such additional service was not confined to the equestrian career, for Augustus made prospective senators *praefecti alae* as well as *tribuni militum*, although later on the former position was held almost exclusively by those of the equestrian order.[1]

The inscriptions show the conferring of the following offices upon *tribuni militum: proc. Asturiae et Gallaeciae* (xii. 1855); *proc. Achaiae* (ii. 2213); *proc. Lusitaniae* (vi. 1359); ἐπίτροπος ἐπαρχείας Γαλλίας Ἀκυιτανιῆς ἐπὶ κῆνσον (*C.I.G.* 3751); ἐπίτροπος Ἠπείρου (*C.I.G.* ii. p. 983); *proc. ab epistulis et a patrimonio* (vi. 798); *proc. ludi famil. glad. Caes. Alexandreae ad Aegyptum* (x. 1685); *proc. divi Titi Alexandriae* (ii. 4136); *proc. ab alimentis* (ii. 4238); *proc. XX. hereditatium* (ii. 2029), *per Hispaniam* etc. (ii. 4114), *per Gallias* (x. 7583), *per Pontum* etc., *promagister XX. hereditatium* (vi. 1620); *proc. stationis privatae per Tusciam et Picenum* (iii. 1464); *proc. ludi matutini* (xiv. 160); *proc. ab actis urbis* (viii. 11813); præfecti of provincial fleets (O. 3601, ii. 1970, iii. 726); *proc. viae Ostiensis et Campanae* (x. 1795); *curator coloniae Arcensium* (ii. 1180); *praetor Etruriae XV. populorum* (xiv. 172); *sub proc. Mauretaniae* (iii. 6065).

II. *Tribunatus cohortis vigilum, cohortis urbanae, cohortis praetoriae.*

The tribunate of the three city cohorts was accepted as military service during the entire history of the equestrian career, though promotion of such officers to procuratorships occurs more frequently after the time of Septimius Severus. It is noticeable that these tribunates were held by those who had served as *primipili.*

The following positions were conferred upon those who had performed the above-mentioned military service: procuratorships of *Syria* (x. 1127); *Dalmatia et Histria* (xi. 2698); *Lusitania* (O. 6767); *Asturia et Gallecia* (vi. 1599); *Hispania Citerior, Asturia, Gallaecia*

[1] Suetonius, *Aug.* 38; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 104; *C.I.L.* xiv. 2105.

(v. 534); *Narbonensis* (x. 5829); *Britannia* (vi. 1626); *Sardinia* (vi. 1336); (*praeses*) *Sardinia* (D. 1356); *praefectus vigilum* (xi. 1836, ix. 1582); *proc. XX. hereditatium* (v. 867, D. 1356). After the tribunate of the prætorian cohort alone: *proc. Lusitaniae* (vi. 1645); *proc. Britanniae* (v. 6513); *Noricum* (v. 1839).

III. *Praefectus cohortis, tribunus militum, praefectus alae.*

Suetonius[1] declares that Claudius determined upon the *praefectura cohortis*, the *praefectura alae*, the *tribunatus militum* in the order given as the *tres militiae equestres*. The testimony of the inscriptions is at variance with the statement of Suetonius both as regards the order, since, almost without exception, the *praefectura alae* occupies the third place, as the higher office, and as regards the time when such a form of service was demanded, since there is no evidence of such a usage until the beginning of the second century. Claudius may have arranged a scheme of service which was required for a brief period in his own time and became finally established, with the *praefectura alae* as the third place, at about the time of Trajan.

These *tres militiae equestres* were maintained with great consistency until the close of the second century, when irregularities appear.

The following positions were conferred upon those who had served as *praefecti alae:* procuratorships of *Sicilia* (ix. 4753); *Hellespontus* (v. 875); *Iudaea* (iii. 5776); *Belgica* (iii. 5212); *Cyprus* (x. 3847); *Achaia* (*Eph. Ep.* v. 194); *Armenia maior* (O. 6947); *Trium provinciarum Galliarum a censibus accipiendis* (W. 1269); *Galliarum Aquitania, Narbonensis* (x. 3871); præfecti of the provincial fleets (viii. 8934, O. 804, D. 1327); *sub praefectus classis* of Misenum and Ravenna (*Eph. Ep.* v. 699, ix. 5357, 5439); *proc. monetae* (viii. 9990, vi. 1625); *praef. vehiculorum* (x. 6976); *proc. ad Miniciam* (O. 516); *ab epistulis Lucii Aelii Caesaris* (O. 2153); πρὸς ὄχθαις Τιβέρεως (*C.I.G.* 3991); *proc. XX. hereditatium prov. Narbonensis* (O. 5480); *praef. vehiculationis Pannoniae* (iii. 6075); *auditor ad cens.* (O. 6519).

It can readily be seen from the assignment of offices shown above that the *tribuni* of the prætorian cohorts and the *praefecti alae* were, as a rule, promoted to the provincial procuratorships, while the ordinary *tribuni militum* received other and, in the main, inferior offices of administration.

[1] *Equestres militias ita ordinavit ut post cohortem alam, post alam tribunatum legionis daret* (*Claudius*, 25). Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der Römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, p. 247 ff.

IV. The *praefectura alae*, which is disregarded to some degree about the time of Septimius Severus, becomes very uncommon after that period. The centurionate and primipilate however appear with greater frequency, and may form part of the *militiae equestres* of the third century, while the *praefectura legionis* supersedes the *praefectura alae* as introductory to a procuratorship.

The centurionate and primipilate appeared in earlier inscriptions, merely indicating, however, an appointment from the army to the first office of the military career.

The *praefectura legionis* has been identified[1] with the earlier *praefectura castrorum* (*legionis*). The latter was an equestrian office regularly conferred upon those who had been *primipili*, who thus completed their military service without entering upon the equestrian career.

The *praefectura* (*castrorum*) *legionis* became a part of the *militiae equestres* under Septimius Severus, and it appears in inscriptions as the highest office of the military service, probably with widened scope and extended authority.

The title *praefectus legionis*, appearing in inscriptions Nos. 30, 31, dating 130–150, is *praefectus castrorum* (*legionis*), but given in the form it finally assumed in the third century.

The various changes which mark the history of the equestrian military service indicate a modification in the relation existing between the military offices and those of the civil government. In the first century service as *tribunus militum* implied merely an apprenticeship to a career of civil offices, but from the beginning of the second century, when, under Hadrian, a civil preliminary service is accepted as equivalent to the military, and leads likewise to the procuratorships, the military career begins to assume an importance of its own, until finally, at the beginning of the third century, it has lost its preliminary character and has become a *cursus honorum* in itself, to which the procuratorship is a far-distant reward.

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[1] Wilmanns, *de praefecto castrorum et praefecto legionis. Eph. Epig.* I. 81–105.

References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature.

The recent discussions in regard to the connections of Zoroastrianism with the Bible and the age of the founder of that religious body, have brought prominently to the foreground the extra-Iranian traditions coupled with his name. It is not my purpose here to touch upon those which are to be found in classical writings, for these are easily accessible even to the specialist in Iranian history. But the Syriac and Arabic traditions, whatever value they may possess, are hidden away in books which seldom come to the notice of any but students of these particular literatures. Few of these texts have been translated into a modern language, and even where some of the passages to which I refer have been extracted by such scholars as Spiegel, Windischmann, Kuhn, etc., the work has necessarily been imperfect and insufficient. It may be also of some worth to have all the references collected in one place, so that those who use them may know where to find all the traditions which touch on this subject. Nöldeke has recently pointed out[1] the necessity of a complete presentation of the Arabic traditions on early Persian history. In putting together the following notices, I wish to be understood as only delivering a few stones for a building which others are to put up. I know nothing of Iranian save what one can know by the help of translations; and I must leave it to others to test the real value of these Oriental traditions. Nor would I claim that I have found all the references. I have had to rely upon my own collection of Arabic books, which is, naturally enough, limited. Even then I may have overlooked some trifles; I trust not more than trifles. For this I claim the indulgence of scholars.

Syriac literature, being largely ecclesiastical and exegetical, there was really only one occasion in connection with which Zoroaster might be mentioned, the adoration of the Magi (Matthew ii. 1 *sq.*).

All the references which occur in this literature go back to the

[1] *Persische Studien*, ii. Wien, 1892, p. 27.

commentators of this passage. It is true that the Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite (according to W. Wright, 506 A.D.[1]), which has been preserved in the work of a later historian, Dionysius of Tell-Maḥrē (died 845 A.D.), mentions in Chap. 20 that Kawad "re-established the abominable sect (αἵρεσις) of the Magi, which is called that of the Zarādushtaḳān, which teaches that women should be in common, and that every one should have connection with whom he pleases." Nöldeke, however, has shown[2] that this refers to the sect (with socialistic ideas) founded by one Mazdak, who is also said to have been the son of Zoroaster. His name, Zaradusht, son of Ḥoragān, is evidence that we have here to deal with a later personage bearing the same name as the old Iranian prophet.

In a book called *The Cave of Treasures*, which belongs to that cycle of literary productions which the early Church brought out in opposition to the Synagogue, and which was current in the Asian and African Churches, in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, we should naturally look to find traditions connected with the coming of the three Magi. The work contains a short account of the biblical history from the first Adam to the "last Adam," intermingled with all manner of Haggadic material, which was current in the Judæo-Christian circles in which it took its rise.[3] On p. 230 of the text[4] (= trans. p. 56 *sq.*) we have the account of the Magi; which, though it contains no references that concern us directly, will be discussed later. But in the early part of the work (p. 136 *sq.*) in the account of the fabulous Nimrod, I find a tradition which relates to the first establishment of fire worship in Persia, and which, for that reason, is worth while quoting: "In the days of Namrud (Nimrod) the mighty man, there appeared a fire which ascended from the earth. Namrud went down, looked at it, and worshipped it. He appointed priests to do service there and to throw frankincense into it (fire). At that time the Persians commenced to worship fire, [and continued to do so] up to this day. Sisan,[5] the king, found a spring of water in Adhrabaijān.[6] He made a white horse and placed it near by. Those who were accustomed to bathe there

[1] See Wright's edition, Cambridge, 1882, p. ix.

[2] *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leyden, 1879, pp. 455 *sq.*

[3] Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, iii. p. 75.

[4] Ed. by Karl Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, Leipzig, 1883–88.

[5] This name is found only in one MS. (A). One Arabic MS. has Sās; the others, Sīsōn. See Bezold, p. 78, note.

[6] Atropatene. The text has Derōgin; but, with the help of the Arabic, there can be no doubt as to the correct reading. See, also, Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, iii. p. 63.

worshipped that horse.[1] Now Namrud went to Yuḳdura, in Nod, and when he came to the sea Aṭras,[2] he found there Yonṭon, the son of Noah. He descended and bathed in that sea, and then went and worshipped Yonṭon. Yonṭon said, 'Thou who art a king worshippeth me?' Namrud answered, 'For thy sake have I come down here.' So he remained with him for three years. And Yonṭon taught Namrud wisdom, and (gave him?) a book of visions, saying, 'Do not come any more to me.' Now when he had come up from the East, and had commenced to make use of this (book of) visions, many were astonished at him. Īdsher,[3] the priest who was in attendance at the fire which had come out from the ground, seeing Namrud busied with these ancient arts, besought the spirit (Deva), which was accustomed to appear near that fire, to teach him the wisdom of Namrud. Now, as is the custom for such Devas to destroy those who draw near to them in sin, that Deva said to the priest that it was impossible for a man to become priest or Magus unless he had previously had connection with his mother, his daughter, and his sister. The priest did as the Deva had bidden him. And from that time the priests and Magians and Persians commenced to take their mothers, and sisters, and daughters.[4] This priest, Īdsher, was the first to occupy himself with the signs of the Zodiac, and destinies, lots, coincidences, quiverings, and other things belonging to the science of the Chaldæans (witchcraft?).

"This Namrud built strong cities in the East, Babylon, Niniveh, Resin, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Adhrabījān. He constructed (also) strongholds there."[5]

[1] Lagarde, *loc. cit.*, refers to Ḳazwīnī's *Cosmography*, p. 189, 12 (= Ethé's translation, p. 386).

[2] The other MSS., *Ukaras*. See Ṭabari, i. p. 220, and *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* 1889, No. 22, p. 554. Lidzbarski, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vii. p. 115, sees here, with some show of reason, a reflex of the old Babylonian "Nimrod-Epos." According to Methodios and Michael Syrus, Noah's son was named *Maniton*. See Wirth, *Aus Orientalischen Chroniken*, 1894, pp. 67, 224.

[3] The pronunciation of this name varies greatly. The Arabic has *Aydashir*, and one MS., *Ardashir*. Bezold refers to a note in Cureton's *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. 81. The author of this law is said by Theodoretus to be Zaradas; = Zaradosht. Cf. above, the extract from Joshua the Stylite. The same charge is found in the treatise ascribed to Bardaiṣān (Bardesanes). See Cureton, translation, p. 18.

[4] I suppose this refers simply to consanguineous marriages, which, I believe, were not foreign to the Persians. Kohler has found traces of this in the Apocrypha (Jubilees, Adam and Eve, Tobit). See *Jewish Quart. Rev.* v. pp. 406 *sq.*

[5] For the Ethiopic version, which is substantially the same, see Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve*, London, 1882, p. 177. The identification of Zoroaster with Nimrod is also found in the *Cle-*

I have given this passage at length because of the mention of the fire which came out of the ground, a tradition which we shall meet again in the Arabic legends. The spring of water in Adhrabijān will also occur later.

It is worth mentioning that the well of water already occurs in the interesting "Oration of Meliton the Philosopher; who was in the presence of Antoninus Cæsar, and bade the same Cæsar know God, etc.," as published by Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum;* London, 1855, p. 25, 14.[1] I give Cureton's translation (p. 44): "But touching Nebo, which is in Mabug, why should I write to you; for, lo! all the priests which are in Mabug know that it is the image of Orpheus, a Thracian Magus. And Hadran is the image of Zaradusht, a Persian Magus, because both of these Magi practised Magism to a well which is in a wood in Mabug, in which was an unclean spirit, and it committed violence and attacked the passage of every one who was passing by in all that place in which now the fortress of Mabug is located; and these same Magi charged Simi, the daughter of Hadad, that she should draw water from the sea, and cast it into the well, in order that the spirit should not come up and commit injury, according to that which was a mystery in their Magism."

The next citations occur in the Syro-Arabic *Lexica* of Bar ʿAlī and Bar Bahlūl. Bar ʿAlī, about 832 A.D. (of whose work I have an edition in preparation), says[2] that Zardosht means "golden kingdom." He adds, "Zardosht composed his filthy teaching in seven languages." In another place (*s.v.* Balaam) he adds, "Balaam is Zardosht, the diviner of the Magians." The connection between Zaradosht and Balaam was near at hand in Numbers xxiv. 17, "a star shall come forth from Jacob." It was generally conceded by such teachers as Origen, Basil, Chrysostom, Eusebius, Nicephorus, Callixtus, etc. A small tract "On the Star" is extant in Syriac, and is attributed to Eusebius. Its tendency is "to show that Balaam's prophecy travelled eastward from Moab, and was handed down by Persian kings until the days of Augustus Cæsar,

mentine Homelies (ix. 3–6). Nebrod = Zoroaster (= Ζῶσα ῥοὴ ἀστέρος). Curiously enough, in the parallel passage in the *Recognitions* (iv. 27–30) Misraim takes the place of Nimrod. See Lehmann, *Die Clementinischen Schriften*, 1869, pp. 199 *sq.*; *ZDMG*, xix. p. 34, and especially Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 308.

[1] On the author of the book, see Nöldeke, *Jahrb. für Protest. Theologie*, xiii. p. 345.

[2] Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 1155; cf. col. 539. *The Samaritan Book of Joshua*, translated by O. T. Crane, New York, 1890, p. 102, speaks of "the books of Bila'ām."

when the star did actually appear."[1] Ḥasan Bar Bahlūl (about 963 A.D.) has a fuller account. In the edition of Duval,[2] *s.v.* Zardosht, we read: "Zardosht; [the word occurs] in the book *Paradise* [of Palladius ?].[3] This is explained to mean *royal gold*, i.e. 'zar'-gold, 'washt' [or] 'basht'-kingship.[4] . . . This Zardosht brought forward the babblings of the Magians. As is customary with names used in other languages we do not pronounce Zardosht as do the Persians, but Zrahdesht(?),[5] just as we do not pronounce Mīshē[6] (Moses), as do the Hebrews, but Mūshē; for so it is proper in Syriac script."

Bar Bahlūl also, *s.v.* Ḳāsōmā (divinator), Payne-Smith, col. 3704, says: "Divinator, like Zardosht, whom people say is Baruch the Scribe; and because prophecy was not accorded him he went astray, journeyed to [other] nations and learned twelve tongues. It is written in a book that when Zardosht was seated by a spring of water — a bathing-place of the king — he said to his disciples: 'in the latter days a maiden, a daughter of the Hebrews, will have a son in the flesh, but without connection, who shall have a godly nature. At his birth a star will appear. Go ye! bring him three offerings, gold, myrrh, and frankincense.' Then he conversed about his passion and his resurrection." The reason for identifying Baruch with Zoroaster is not apparent, yet it was quite current, as we shall see, in church circles. Finally, *s.v.* Abhastāg,[7] Bar Bahlūl says, "Abhastaga, in one copy, is the name of the book of Zoroaster which he composed in seven tongues, Syrian, Persian, Aramæan, Segistanian, Marozian, Greek, and Hebrew." The names are of interest here, and will occupy us again in speaking of the Arabic Fihrist.

At about the same time lived 'Ishōdad of Ḥadatha (about 852 A.D.). In his commentary on the New Testament,[8] which only exists in MS., he has the following note to Matthew ii. 1: "It has been asked whence did the Magi receive [information] that when a [certain] star should appear, the King of Kings was born, and that it was proper

[1] Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 252.

[2] *Lexicon Syriacum*, Parisiis, 1888, etc., col. 699.

[3] Duval, p. iv.; Lagarde, *Symmicta*, i. p. 83.

[4] Cf. Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 45.

[5] The pronunciation is uncertain, as the vowels are not given.

[6] So the MSS. What pronunciation does this represent? Is it the Greek Μωσῆς, which has been found in the Hebrew משה? Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, iv., note 19; *Allgem. Zeit. des Judenth.*, 1893, No. 50 *sq.*

[7] Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 7.

[8] Cf. my note, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xi. p. 68.

to bring him triple offerings. Some say from Daniel. For certain men came from Shebha to Babel to the palace, at the time when Nebuchadnezzar was ruling, to bring offerings to the king, and to learn Chaldaism (*i.e.* Chaldean magic). Daniel told them that when the Messiah will be born, it will be proper for the kings of Shebha and Sebha to bring him offerings. They wrote [this] down in their *βιβλιοθήκι*, *i.e.* archives, and in their *ὑπομνήματα*, *i.e.* book of chronicles. Others say they received word from Bel'am. The truth of the matter is, that it had been predicted by Zāradosht, the head of their sect, either because he was constrained by divine power, as Bel'am and Kayyafa (Caiafas), or because he was of the people of Israel and a student of the Scriptures.[1]

"Some say that he (Zoroaster) is the same as Baruch, the pupil of Eramya (Jeremiah), and [that], because the gift of prophecy was denied him as [had been] his wish, and, because of that bitter exile and the sack of Jerusalem and the Temple, he became offended (or angry) and went away among other nations, learned twelve languages and in them wrote that vomit of Satan, *i.e.* their book which is called Abhasta. Therein is written: As Zāradosht was sitting by a well of water, where had been constructed a bathing place for former kings, he opened his mouth and said to his disciples, 'Hear, O my beloved, and ye children whom I have trained in my teaching. In the latter days a virgin, a daughter of the Hebrews, will be with child and will give birth, without cohabiting, to a boy in whom the divine nature dwells. He will perform wonderful deeds and miracles. At his birth a star will appear to you. Go, bring him offerings, gold, and myrrh, and frankincense. For he is the King of Kings.'"

We find the same story, almost word for word, in the "Book of the Bee," an epitome of the world's history made by Solomon of Ḥilāṭ (born about 1222 A.D.)[2]:—

"This Zārādōsht is Baruch the scribe. When he was sitting by the fountain of water called Glōshā of Ḥōrīn, where the royal bath had been erected, he said to his disciples, the king Gūshānāsph and Sāsān and Mahīmad, 'Hear, my beloved children, for I will

[1] Is there any real tradition in this—in the line of Darmstetter's arguments in favour of a Jewish influence on Zoroastrianism? Or is this on a par with similar assumptions that Plato and Aristotle were students of the Thorah (Law)? Cf. Herzog-Plitt, *Encycl.* i. p. 281; *Revue des Et. Juives*, xxiv. 122; Frankel, *Monatschrift*, 1860, p. 99.

[2] Anecdota Oxoniensia: *The Book of the Bee*, ed. by E. A. Wallis Budge, Oxford, 1886, pp. 81 *sq.* The passage has been treated of by Ernst Kuhn, *Eine Zoroastrische Prophezeihung in Christlichen Gewande.*

reveal to you a mystery concerning the great King who is about to rise upon the world. At the end of time, and at the final dissolution, a child shall be conceived in the womb of a virgin, and shall be formed in her members, without any man approaching her. And he shall be like a tree with beautiful foliage and laden with fruit, standing in a parched land; and the inhabitants of that land shall be gathered together to uproot it from the earth, but shall not be able. Then they will take him and crucify him upon a tree, and heaven and earth shall sit in mourning for his sake; and all the families of the nations shall be in grief for him. He will begin to go down to the depths of the earth, and from the depth he will be exalted to the height; then he will come with the armies of light and be borne aloft upon white clouds; for he is a child conceived by the Word which establishes natures.' Gūshānsāph says to him, 'Whence has this one, of whom thou sayest these things, his power? Is he greater than thou, or art thou greater than he?' Zārādōsht says to him, 'He shall descend from my family; I am he, and he is I; he is in me, and I am in him. When the beginning of his coming appears, mighty signs will be seen in heaven, and his light shall surpass that of the sun. But ye, sons of the seed of life, who have come forth from the treasuries of life and light and spirit, and have been sown in the land of fire and water, for you it is meet to watch and take heed to these things which I have spoken to you, that ye await his coming; for you will be the first to perceive the coming of that great king, whom the prisoners await to be set free. Now, my sons, guard this secret which I have revealed to you, and let it be kept in the treasure-houses of your souls. And when that star rises of which I have spoken, let ambassadors bearing offerings be sent by you, and let them offer worship to him. Watch, and take heed, and despise him not, that he destroy you not with the sword; for he is the king of kings, and all kings receive their crowns from him. He and I are one.' These are the things which were spoken by this second Balaam,[1] and God, according to His custom, compelled him to interpret these things; or he sprang from a people who were acquainted with the prophecies concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, and declared them aforetime."

Whatever the origin of the identification of Zoroaster with Baruch[2]

[1] We have here merely a *comparison* with Balaam. In other writers this becomes an *identification*.

[2] The scribe of Jeremiah. De Sacy (*Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibl. du Roi*, ii. p. 319) tries to explain the connection of Jeremiah with Zoroaster from the Arabic form

may be, the latter seems to have been more honored in death than in life. His last resting place is connected with miraculous accounts, and seems to have been held in high esteem by the Jews of Babylon. Rabbi Pethahyā of Ratisbon visited it in the twelfth century, and recounts some of these wonders.[1] Curiously enough, a brightness (or light) is said to have proceeded from his grave.[2] It may be worthy of mention that Baruch's master, Jeremiah, according to the Book of the Bee (p. 72) also prophesied the truth of the Messiah —but to the Egyptians.

In a MS. fragment[3] containing Syriac prayers for various occasions and charms against all manner of sicknesses, I find the following: "On Edhre[4] and boils, let him say a blessing three times and (repeat): Zardosht the prophet prophesied saying: A time will come when they will see a star in the heavens having the likeness of a mother with a son in her arms.[5] The time came, and they saw the star. Twelve[6] kings set out from Persia to go to Jerusalem. Before the cock could crow they had reached Jerusalem. They saw King Herod, who said to them: Whence come ye, and whither are ye going? They answered: A king has been born in Bethlehem, and we have come to worship him. Then the star fell down in front of them; they went and worshipped the boy who had been born. They opened their treasure chests and brought him offerings: gold, and myrrh, and frankincense. They asked for a set of swaddling clothes; they then went to Persia, made a great fire, and threw the

of the name *Armiya* (Jeremiah), which bears some similarity to the city of *Urmiah*. *The Second Book of the Maccabees* (chaps. i. and ii.) relates how Jeremiah, after the destruction of Jerusalem, hid the fire of the Temple, which was afterwards found by Nehemiah. The king of Persia is said to have tried to do the same. Is this not an evident attempt to explain the fire-worship of the Persians? See *Jewish Quart. Rev.* v. p. 412.

[1] See Benisch, *Travels of Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbon*, London, 1856, pp. 20 and 50.

[2] This light, or fire, coming up from the earth, occurs in the later Arabic traditions.

[3] The property of the Rev. Mr. Yohannan.

[4] What sort of sickness this is, I am unable to say.

[5] Cf. Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 56; Dillmann, *Das Christliche Adamsbuch* Jahrbücher für Bibl. Wissenschaft, 1853, p. 135; Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve*, p. 204. Cf. also Wirth, *Aus Orientalischen Chroniken*, 1894, p. 202.

[6] This number (12) occurs elsewhere. See Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum, Auctore Hassano Bar Bahlule*, col. 1002, below; which agrees, almost word for word, with a scholion of Jacob of Edessa (seventh century), quoted by Nestle, *Marginalien und Materialien*, Tübingen, 1893, p. 72. The same reference is found in the Commentary of Bar 'Ebhrrāyā to Math. ii. 1. See the edition of Spanuth, Göttingen, 1879.

swaddling clothes of our Lord upon the fire. Before the swaddling clothes of our Lord the fire went out.[1] In this manner may the Edhra go out, and leave, and be plucked from the body of N. N., the son of N. N., and all the evil boils, (just) as that fire went out in the presence of the swaddling clothes of our Lord. Amen!"

The last writer among the Syrians of any real importance, Gregorius Bar 'Ebhrāyā (about 1250), also mentions these traditions in that part of his "Treasury of Secrets" which comments upon the passage in Matthew:[2] "Some say that an angel appeared to them like a star, others a maiden carrying a male babe in her arms and a crown upon her head. Still others say that they saw writing which announced his appearance. But others again say that Bal'am, their father (ancestor?), or Zaradosht, their prophet, had in times gone by prophesied (its coming) to them." Bar 'Ebhrāyā has a little different tradition in his Arabic Chronicon:[3] "In those days (of Cyrus) came Zaradosht, chief of the Magian sect, by birth of Adharbījān, or, as some say, of Āthōr (Assyria). It is reported that he was one of Elijah's[4] disciples, and he informed the Persians of the sign of the birth of Christ, and that they should bring him gifts. And he told them that in after time a virgin should be with child without having known man, and about the time of her bringing forth, a star brilliant by day should appear, in the midst of which would be seen the figure of a young virgin. You then, my children, will be favoured before all other people with the light of the star: and when ye see it, go whither it leads you, worship the child, and offer him gold, incense, and myrrh."

Turning now to the Arabic writers, we find their interest to be quite a different one to that of the Syrians. There is no Oriental people who have done so much for their own history as have the Arabs; and, with the acquisition of Persia, they extended this interest also to the history of the conquered provinces.

Many of their most learned men were Persians by birth, and had no racial affinity with those who held sway over them. This was reason sufficient to give them an interest in the early history of Persia; though this was not needed, as nearly every historical writer commenced *ab ovo* — with the very beginnings of history. But though written as history, not all that we find in their books can be

[1] Luke ii. 12. The same tradition is found in *The Book of the Bee*, p. 85, and in Hone, *Protovangelion*, Infancy, iii. 4–10, as cited by Budge, *ibid.*

[2] Ed. Spanuth, p. 6, lines 25 *sq.*

[3] Ed. Salḥani, Beirut, 1890, p. 83. Here he follows his Arabic masters.

[4] A mistake for *Jeremiah?*

called by such a name. Here the authors took little pains to separate real tradition from fiction, as they were careful to do in treating of purely Arabian and Muhammadan history. We shall therefore find again a number of the legends and identifications mentioned above recurring here, especially in the works which are manifestly compilations. Many of the learned Arabs held converse with Syriac historians, and thus obtained many of their traditions *viva voce*.

The tradition which places Zoroaster's teaching in Atropatene is almost unanimous among the Muhammadan writers. These traditions are generally centred upon or around the city of Urmia (Oroomiah).

As early a writer as Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al Baladhurī (about A.D. 851) in his Kitāb Futūḥ al-buldān,[1] in speaking of the conquest of Adrabījān has the following note: "Urmia is an ancient city; the Magians think that Zāradusht, their master, came from there."

Of the historians who treat of the early history of Persia, Abu Ḥanīfa Aḥmad al-Dainawarī must first be mentioned, who, in his Kitāb al-Aḥbār al-ṭiwāl[2] relating the history of Vishtāsp, says: "Zaradusht, the head of the Magians, came to Bushtāsip the king, saying, I am a messenger of God to thee. He brought him a work which the Magians possess. Bushtāsip believed in him and followed the Magian religion, and compelled his people to follow it *nolens volens*." The text then relates the anger of Rustem, the viceroy of Sijistān, at this change of religion, and his consequent battle with Isfandijād, son of Bushtāsip. In the same manner, but a little more precisely, Zoroaster is mentioned by Hamza ibn al Ḥasan Aliṣfahānī in his *Annals*,[3] p. 22, "Gustaspe rege Zerduscht inclaruit"; p. 26, "Lohraspe vivo potestas travita fuit filio eius Cai Gustaspi; adhunc trigesimo regni anno, cum ipse L annos esset natus, Zerduscht, Adjerbeidjanensis accesit atque religionem exposuit, quam ille non modo ipse amplexus est, sed etiam in eius favorem legatis ad Graecos missis eos ad illam accipiendam invitavit. Hi tamen librum a Feridune sibi datum protulerunt, ubi conventum erat: sibi qualemcunque religionem elegerint, esse permissam. Itaque ad iis se cohibuit, cum id, quod manibus tenebant, auferre nollet." Speaking of the different systems of chronology, he says (p. 8), "Persae, qui ex Avesta, libro sacro a Zerduscht iis apportato computant, e

[1] De Goeje, *Liber Expugnationis Regnorum*, Leyden, 1866, p. 331. 1.

[2] Ed. Vladimir de Guirgass, Leyden, 1888, p. 27. Dainawarī died A.D 895.

[3] Gottwaldt, *Hamzæ Ispahanensis Annalium Libri x.*, Lipsiæ, 1844, whose translation I have cited.

tempore Caiumrathi, hominum parentis, ad regnum Jezdegerdis quatuor millia CLXXXII annos, decem menses et undeviginti dies colligunt."

One of the best authorities for these descriptions is Abu-l Ḥasan al Mas'ūdī (died 957 A.D.). Born in Bagdad, he travelled far and wide, collecting material for his great works on history and geography. What he says about Zoroaster has been largely copied by later writers. I give the following extracts from the *Medows of Gold* in Barbier de Meynard's French translation.[1]

"Youstaf (Gustasp) régna apres son pere et résida a Balkh. Il était sur le trône depuis trente ans, lorsque Zeradecht, fils d'Espimānse présenta devant lui. On dit que Zereducht était fils de Bourschasp, fils de Federasf, fils d'Arikdasf, fils de Hedjdasf, fils de Hakhich, fils de Batir, fils de Arhadas, fils de Herder, fils d'Espimān, fils de Wandest, fils de Haizem, fils de Iredj, fils de Dourchirin, fils Durroi Menonchehr: il était originaire de l'Azerbaidjān, et son nom le plus ordinair est Zeradecht, fils d'Espimān. Il fut le prophète des Madjous et leur apporta le livre que le vulgaire appelle *Zemzemeh*, mais dont le vrai nom, chez les Madjous est Bestah. Zeradecht capta la raison de ses prosélytes par des miracles; il leur révéla les événements géneraux ou particuliers qui se cachent dans la nuit de l'avenir. En d'autres termes, ses prédictions embrassaient à la fois l'ensemble des événements futurs et les faits particuliers, comme la mort ou la maladie de telle personne en tel jour, la naissance de telle autre à telle époque, et d'autres prédictions du même genre. La langue du livre révélé par Zeradecht ne renfermait pas moins de soixante lettres, or aucun alphabet connu ne se compose d'un plus grand nombre de caractères. Les détails dans lesquels des Madjous entrent, à cet égard, son reproduits dans nos annales historiques et dans l'Histoire moyenne. Comme le peuple prononçait difficilement et ne comprenait pas les mots de ce livre, leur prophète, ainsi que nous le dirons plus loin, indépendamment des explications qu'il donna dans son livre, y ajouta un commentaire, qu'il expliqua ensuite par un second commentaire; le texte entier, tracé en lettres d'or forme douze mille volumes.[2] Il renferme des promesses, des menaces, des prescriptions et, en général, tout ce qui concerne la loi civile et religieuse; ce livre devint le code des rois Perses, jusque á l'epóque où Alexandre, après avoir tué Dara, jeta au feu

[1] Paris, 1861, *sq.*, vol. ii. p. 123; cf. also p. 167.

[2] This goes back to the letter of Tansar to the King of Tabaristan. See Darmstetter, *Zendavesta*, vol. iii. p. xxx.

une partie de l'ouvrage. . . . Quant au livre primitif, il est nommé *Bestah.* Pour en faciliter l'intelligence, Zeradecht composa un commentaire qu'on nomma *Zenda;* il rédigea plus tard un autre commentaire qui fut nommé *Bazend;* . . . Youstasf régna cent vingt ans avant d'adopter la religion des Mages, puis il mourut. La prédication de Zeradecht dura trente-cinq ans, et il mourut agé de soixante et dix-sept ans."

In another work, *Indicatio et Admonitio,* Mas'ūdī[1] has repeated nearly the whole of the extract above given from *The Medows of Gold.*

From the second work I add only the following additional note:—

"Zoroastre fils de Poroschasp fils d'Asinman, dans *l'Abesta,* qui est le livre qui lui a été révélé, annonce que, dans trois cents ans, l'Empire des Perses éprouvera une grande révolution, sans que la religion soit détruite; mais, qu'au bout de mille ans, l'empire et la religion périront en même temps. Or, outre Zoroastre et Alexandre, il y a environ trois cents ans; car Zoroastre a paru du temps de *Ghischtasp,* fils de Caïlohrasp, comme nous l'avons dit ci-devant."

Coming down a little later, we find an interesting notice in the encyclopædia of all the sciences, composed by Ibn Abu Ya'ḳūb al Nadīm[2] (tenth century). In the chapter on Persian writing (p. 12[illegible]; I omit the interesting introduction): "Now when Bistāsp reigned, the art of writing was already widespread, and Zarādusht, the son of Espitamān,[3] the head of the sect of the Magians, appeared. He brought forth his wonderful book in a multitude of languages.[4] People doubled their zeal in learning script and writing, in which they [afterwards?] became expert. Abd allah ibn al Muḳaffa'[5] says: 'Persian languages are the following: Pahlawī, Durian, Persian, Ḥuzian, Syriac.' Pahlawī is derived from *Pahlah,* a name given

[1] Silvestre de Sacy, in *Notices et Extraits,* vol. viii. p. 132 *sq.* Reprinted in Barbier de Meynard's edition of the *Medows,* vol. ix. p. 327. There is also a long account of Zoroaster in the *Kitāb al 'abr,* of Ibn Ḥaldūn, the most philosophical of all the Muhammadan historians (born 1332 A.D.). See the Būlāk ed., 1867, ii. p. 161. But it contains nothing new, and I omit it.

[2] *Kitāb al Fihrist,* ed. Gustav Flügel, Leipzig, 1871. Cf. also *Journal Asiatique,* Sixième Série, tome vii. p. 429 *sq.*

[3] Reading quite uncertain. Cf. vol. ii. p. 8.

[4] Cf. the traditions in regard to the number of languages Zoroaster learned.

[5] Died 762 A.D. This whole passage is cited by Yāḳūt (thirteenth century). See the ed. of Wüstenfeld, iii. p. 925; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse,* 1861, p. 428; Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur Persischen Geschichte,* Leipzig, 1837. Yāḳūt: "There is a tradition that Pahlawī gets its name from Pahlūj, the son of Fāris."

to five places,—Iṣfahān, Rai, Hamadān, Māh, Nahāwand, Adhrabījān.[1] Durian is the language of the cities of Mada'in. Those who were in the court of the King made use of it; and it takes its name from them. And the speech in which Durian mostly predominates among the people of Ḥorasān and the East is that of the inhabitants of Balḥ. Persian is spoken by the Mobeds, the wise men, and the like. It is the language of the people of Persia.[2] Ḥuzian was spoken by kings and nobles in private, in places of sport and pleasure, and with their families. Syriac was spoken by the common people.[3] It is written in what is called Syro-Persian. Ibn al-Muḳaffa' says: Persia has seven kinds of script, etc. One is the holy script, and is called the Din Defteriyah (?). In this script the Vestak (?) was written." Vestak is another form for *Avesta*. On p. 345, speaking of the sect al-Muslimiyya,[4] al Nadīm says: "When Abu Muslim died, people expected to see him, thinking he was the prophet empowered by Zarādusht. They claimed that Zarādusht was (still) alive and not dead; his followers also believed him to be alive and not dead, and that he would come forth (again) to set up this religion for them. These belong to the secret tenets of the Muslimiyya."

Abu Ja'far Muḥammad a Tabarī (died A.D. 923) is perhaps the most comprehensive of all the Muḥammadan historians. He has gathered together a good many of the traditions relative to Zoroaster. Though he does not directly mention the connection of Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah, with the Iranian prophet, as do the Syriac authors, Jeremiah himself is said to have gone to Jerusalem during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar,[5] and to have fallen asleep before the Temple. After a hundred years he awoke, at which time Luhrasb was reigning. In speaking of his successor, he says:[6] "Hishām

[1] Yāḳūt adds: "Shīrawai ibn Shahradār says: 'The Pahlawī places are seven, Hamadhān, Māsbadhān, Ḳum, Māh of Baṣra, Ṣaimara, Māh of Kufa, and Ḳarmīsīn. But Rai, Iṣbahān, Ḳūmas, Ṭabaristān, Ḥurasān, Sajistān, Kirmān, Makrān, Ḳazwīn, Dailam, and Ṭālaḳān are not Pahlawī places.'"

[2] In Yāḳūt this reads: "Ḥuzian is the language of the people of Ḥuzistān. It was spoken by kings and nobles in privies and water-closets, while undressing for the bath or to wash themselves."

[3] Or "by the people of Sawād," a district between Basra and Kufa. Yāḳūt: "Syriac takes its name from the land of Suristān, *i.e.* 'Irāḳ. It is the language of the Nabaṭæans."

[4] Haarbrücker, Schahrastāni's *Religionsparthein und Philosophenschulen*, Halle, 1850, i. p. 293; ii. p. 480.

[5] Mas'ūdī, ii. p. 122: "Bokht-Nassar fut le merzebān de Bohrasf, dans l'Irak et l'occident." A similar legend is told concerning Uzair (Ezra). See Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, p. 114; Edwin Arnold, *Pearls of the Faith*, No. 67.

[6] Part i., Leyden, 1888, p. 648.

relates: During the reign of Bishtāsp, Zarādusht appeared, whom the Magians believe to be their prophet. According to some learned men among the people of the book,[1] he was of Palestinian origin, a servant to one of the disciples of Jeremiah the prophet, with whom he was a favourite. But he proved treacherous and false to him. Wherefore God cursed him, and he became leprous. He wandered to Ādharbaijān, and preached there the Magian religion. From there he went to Bishtāsp, who was in Balḥ. Now when he (Zoroaster) had come before him, and preached his doctrine to him, it caused him to marvel, and he compelled his people to accept it, and put many of his people to death on its account. Then they followed it (the religion). Bishtāsp reigned one hundred and twelve years."

A little further on (p. 675), Tabarī, however, has another and more extended tradition: "It is said that he (Bishtāsp) built in Persia the city Fasa, and in India and other places temples for the fires, and placed over them the fire-priests; that he selected seven out of the nobles of his people, and made each one of them master of that part which he had appointed for him. Zarādusht, the son of Aspīmān, appeared in the thirtieth year of his reign. He laid claim to the gift of prophecy. Now he wished that the King should receive his faith; but he refused. But afterwards he believed in him and accepted that to which Zarādusht had invited him. He brought the King part of a book, which he claimed to be an inspiration. It was written upon the hides of twelve thousand oxen—the writing cut into the hide and covered with gold. Bishtāsp sent this (writing) to a place in Iṣṭaḥr called Darbīsht.[2] He placed over it the fire-priests, and forbade them to instruct the people regarding it.[3] At that time Bishtāsp had made a sort of peace with the King of the Turks, Ḥarzāsp,[4] son of Kai Suāsp, the brother of Frāsiāt. One of the stipulations of this peace was that Bishtāsp should have standing at the gate of Ḥārzāsp an animal like the animals which stood guard at the gates of the King. Zarādusht counselled Bishtāsp to break faith with the King of the Turks. He acceded, and took back the animal and the man who had been appointed to watch it. When this was reported to Ḥarzāsp, he grew angry. He was an enchanter and puffed up with pride. He made preparations to fight

[1] The Jews.

[2] Vocalization uncertain.

[3] For the following, see Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, ii. p. 6; and cf. Wirth, *Aus Orientalischen Chroniken*, 1894, p. 132.

[4] According to Barth, in his edition of the text, p. 677, note *b* = Arejat-açpa. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 55.

Bishtāsp, and wrote him an insolent, threatening letter. In it he informed him that he (Bishtāsp) had made a great innovation, and that he disapproved his having accepted the teaching of Zarādusht. He commanded Bishtāsp to send Zarādusht to him, and swore that, in case he refused, he would make war upon him until he should have spilt his blood and the blood of his family. Now when the messenger had brought the letter to Bishtāsp, the latter gathered about him his family and the nobles of his people; among whom were Zāmāsp, their wise man and their arithmetician, and Zarīn,[1] the son of Luhrāsp. Then Bishtāsp wrote as an answer a threatening letter to the King of the Turks, proclaiming war, and informing him that he would not desist from (fighting) him, even if he (Ḥarzāsp) should desist. So they set out one against the other, each one with a countless number of soldiers. With Bishtāsp were Zarīn (!), his brother; Nastūr, the son of Zarīn; Isfendiyār and Pashūtan, the sons of Bishtāsp, and all the family of Luhrāsp. With Ḥarzāsp were Gōhormuz and Andarmān, his brothers, his other relatives, and Bedrafsh, the enchanter. In those battles Zarīn was killed, which pained Bishtāsp very much. His son, Isfendiyār, showed great courage, and killed Bedrafsh in a duel. Defeat came to the Turks."

Tabarī relates in another place (p. 681): "Bishtāsp died, having reigned one hundred and twelve years. Some say, that an Israelite whose name was SMY,[2] was a prophet and was sent to Bishtāsp. He came to him at Balḥ and entered the city; he and Zarādusht, the head of the Magians, and Jāmāsb, the wise man, the son of Faḥd. SMY used to speak in Hebrew, which Zarādusht understood by inspiration.[3] He then wrote in Persian what SMY spoke in Hebrew. Jāmāsb was engaged with them in this. For this reason Jāmāsb is called the wise man. Some of the Persians say that Jāmāsb was the son of Fahd[4] (?) son of Hu, son of Ḥakan (?) son of Nadhkān (?) son of Faras (?) son of Hawarāsrau (?) son of Manushihr the king, and that Zarādusht was the son of . . .

"It is said that Bishtāsp and his father Luhrāsb were of the Sabæan religion until SMY and Zoroaster brought them (the new faith). They came when thirty years of his reign had gone by. This authority says that Bishtāsp reigned for one hundred and fifty years."[5]

[1] Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*, corrects this to *Zārēr*. Cf., also, p. 2, *Zairivairi*, Windischmann, p. 55.

[2] Vocalization unknown. Some MSS. have *Sumi*. But see above *Simi*, in the extract from the oration of Melito.

[3] Talḳīn. Cf. Dozy, *Supplement*, ii. p. 545.

[4] Vocalization uncertain, as in most of the following names. The F is sometimes written as a Ḳ.

[5] Cf. Ya'ḳūbī ed. Houtsma, p. 189.

The greater part of Tabarī's history was afterwards incorporated in the work of Ibn Al-Athīr (Kitāb al Kāmil fī alta'arīh),[1] who flourished in the thirteenth century; but, with a more concise arrangement, and a few additions from other sources. In general, the account of Zoroaster follows closely the lines of al Tabari. Zarādusht is called the son of Saḳimān. His relation to Jeremiah is told, and his wandering to Adherbaijān.[2] "It is said," he adds, "that he was a Persian and that he had composed a book with which he went around in the land. No one knew its meaning. He pretended that it was a heavenly tongue in which he was addressed. He called it Ashta.[3] He went from Adharbaijān to Fāris (Persia). But no one understood what was in it, nor did they receive him. Then he went to India, and offered it to the princes there. Then he went to China and to the Turks, but not one of them would receive him. They drove him out from their country. He travelled to Fergānā, but its prince wished to kill him. From there he fled and came to Bishtāsp, son of Luhrāsb, who commanded that he be imprisoned. He suffered imprisonment for some time. Zarādusht commentated his book and called it *Zend, i.e.* commentary. Then he commentated the Zend in a work which he called *Bāzend, i.e.* commentary of a commentary. It contains different sciences, as asceticism, astronomy, medicine,[4] and besides these, stories of past generations, and writings of prophets.

"In his book there is the following: Hold fast to that which I have brought you, until he of the red camel[5] come to you, *i.e.* Muhammad. This was at the beginning of the year 1600. For this reason, there arose great hatred between the Magians and the Arabs. It is said in the stories of Sābūr dhul Aktāf, that this was one of the reasons for the invasion of the Arabs. But God knows best.

"Then Bishtāsp caused Zoroaster — who was in Balḥ — to be

[1] Cf. Nöldeke, *Gött. Gelehrt. Anz.*, 1867, 30, p. 1173. Brockelmann, *Das Verhältniss von Ibn al Athīrs Kāmil . . . zu Tabarī . . .* Strassburg, 1890.

[2] Ed. Tornberg, Leyden, 1867, i. p. 181.

[3] Evidently a mistake for *Abasta*.

[4] Such scientific writings of Zoroaster are mentioned by Ibn Abi Useibia, 1250 A.D. (Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Arab. Ärtzte.* p. 132), in his history of medicine, ed. August Müller, Königsberg, 1884, vol. i. p. 9. "The Magians say that Zarādusht, whom they claim as their prophet, brought them books of the four sciences. They believe that these were written on twelve thousand hides of buffalos. One thousand of these referred to medicine." Cf. also Sanguinetti, *Journal Asiatique*, ser. iii. vol. v. p. 263; Darmstetter, *Zendavesta*, vol. iii. p. viii. There is a tradition to the same effect in Suidas, *ZDMG*, xix. p. 36.

[5] Ḳur'ān, *Sura* ii.

brought to him. When he stood before the king, he explained his religion to him. He wondered at it, followed it, and compelled his people to do the same. He killed a large number of them, until they accepted the (new religion). The Magians believe that he took his rise in Adherbaijān, and that he came down to the king through the roof of the chamber. In his hand was a cube of fire, with which he played without its hurting him. Nor did it burn any one who took it from his hands. He caused the king to follow him and to hold to his religion, and to build temples in his land for the fires. From this they lighted the fire in the fire-temples. They believed that the fires which are in their temples burned from that time until now. But they are mistaken. For the fire of the Magians was extinguished in all the temples when God sent Muhammad, as we shall relate, if God so wills!"[1] The rest of the story (pp. 192, 194) is practically the account of Tabarī. In speaking of the Israelite who with Zoroaster and Jāmāsb translated the inspirations from the Hebrew, the name of the Israelite is entirely omitted.

A few points are added here in Ibn Al-Athīr's account. The story about the Avesta is evidently derived from Mas'ūdī. It is interesting to note that the supposititious quotation is applied here to Muhammad. In the Syriac accounts, it was applied to Jesus. The coming down of Zoroaster through the roof is new in these traditions; but I believe it has Iranian authority. It occurs again in the Cosmography of Zakariyya al-Ḳazwīnī (about 1263). In speaking of the districts of Shīz in Adharbāijān, he adds:[2] "Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians, takes his origin from here. It is said that he came from Shīz. He went to the mountain Sabalān, separated from men. He brought a book the name of which was *Basta*. It was written in Persian, which could not be understood except with the assistance of a commentator. He appeared, claiming the gift of prophecy, at the time of Kushtāsp, the son of Luhrāsp, the son of Kaiḫusrau, king of Persia. He wished to get to Bishtāsp, but he did not succeed. Bishtāsp was sitting in the hall of state, when the roof of the hall parted in two, and Zarādusht came down from it. Some of those who were with the king fled; others fainted. But the king did not move from his place. He said: Who art thou? Zarādusht answered: I am sent of God to you. Then, said the king:

[1] Abulfeda, *Annales*, ed. Adler, i. p. 7: "Illa nocte, qua propheta nascebatur . . . Sanctus Persarum ignis, qui mille per annos continenter arserat emoriebatur." Brockelmann, *loc. cit.* p. 29.

[2] Ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848, ii. p. 267.

Though we have seen this wonder (*i.e.* the coming down from the ceiling), we are not satisfied. We have wise and learned men like thee. If they will bear witness in thy favour, we will follow thee. Zarādusht agreed to this. So the king commanded the wise and learned men who lived at that time, to listen to what he had to say and then to inform the king. They did so, and then said to the king: We have listened to what he had to say; it is true. Only one thing remains, to prove the wonder of his prophetical power. They continued: We wish to smear his body with some sort of drug and take some molten copper, then bind him and pour this molten copper over him. If he perish, then we have done with his affair. If he remain unhurt by this, we must follow him. Zarādusht agreed to this, and the king accepted this method of proof. Then they took off his clothes, bound him firmly, and poured over him the molten copper. But the copper became solidified and clung to all his hair, and did not hurt him in the least. The Magians still preserve some of these balls, the presence of which they consider to be a blessing. After this (the wise men) said: Nothing remains but to follow his call. Zarādusht commanded that fire-temples should be built in all the kingdom of Bishtāsp. He made the fire a Kibla,[1] not a god. This sect continued to exist until the prophet of God (Muḥammad) was sent. They say that even to-day a remnant of it is to be found in the land of Sajistān."

The ordeal here mentioned is not authenticated in other traditions; but Ardarpād, who is said to have revised the Avesta under Shahpur II. (309–379 A.D.) "in order to prove his own orthodoxy, underwent the ordeal of fire. Molten metal was poured on his heart, and he did not suffer from it."[2] Has not the Arabic tradition transferred the story from Ardarpād to Zoroaster?

We saw above, in the Syrian traditions, that Zoroaster's teaching was connected, in some way, with a well of water. Such wells are mentioned by Ḳazwīnī as existing about Mount Sabalān.[3] On page 189 we read:[4] "It is one of the highest mountains in the world. . . . It is related that the Prophet said: Sabalān is a mountain between

[1] The place towards which prayer is directed.

[2] *Contemp. Rev.*, 1893, p. 870. Perhaps it comes from a more direct source. See Darmstetter, *Zendavesta*, iii. p. xxxv.; *Sacred Books of the East*, iv. p. xxxviii.

[3] Not Sabilan, as Rawlinson transcribed. Jackson, *Where was Zoroaster's Native Place, JAOS*, xv. p. 226. See Yāḳūt, iii. p. 34; Istaḥrī, p. 181. 8; Ibn Ḥauḳal, p. 238; Ḳazwīnī, p. 189. 2.

[4] Cf. a similar account by one "Bakoui" (1403), published by De Guignes, *Notices et Extraits*, ii. p. 465.

Armenia and Adharbaijān. On it is one of the springs of the Jinns, and in it is one of the graves of the prophets. He said further: On the top of the mountain is a large spring, the water of which is frozen on account of the severe cold; and around the mountain are hot springs to which sick people come. At the foot of the mountain is a large tree, and under this there is a plant to which no animal will draw near. If it comes near it, the animal flees away; if it eat of it, it dies." The tree appears also in connection with Zoroaster in the Syriac legends.

More curious still is the appearance of the Christian legend, as we found it in Isho'dad and Solomon of Basra in the account which Yākūt (about 1250) gives of Shīz in his Kitāb Mu'jam albuldān. I extract the following:[1] "It is said that Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians, comes from this place. Its chief city is Urmia. . . . In it is a fire-temple which is held in great esteem. From it are lit the fires of the Magians from the East unto the West. On the top of its dome is a half-moon of silver. It is a talisman. Many Emirs have tried to remove it, but have not succeeded. One of the wonders of this temple is, that a fire has been kept up in it for seven hundred years, without any ashes having been found; nor has the fire gone out for one hour since then. Hurmuz ibn Husrushīr ibn Bahrām built it out of lime and stone. In it are lofty palaces and wonderful buildings. Whenever an enemy seeks to take this city and plants a ballista near to its walls, if he try to stone it, the stones fall into the lake which we have mentioned, and if he remove the ballista away from the wall, not one stone will reach it, but all will fall outside the wall.[2]

"The story goes, in regard to the building of the city, that Hormuz, king of Persia, was told that a blessed birth had taken place in Jerusalem (!) in a city called Bethlehem, and that the offerings brought to him should be anointing oil,[3] myrrh, and frankincense. Then he sent one of his friends with great riches, who took with him much frankincense. He commanded him to go with it to Jerusalem and enquire about this child; and that when he shall have informed himself about the matter, he should present the gifts to the child's mother, and should tell her of the glory and renown

[1] Ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. p. 354.

[2] Up to here the passage, almost word for word, is incorporated in the account of Ḳazwīnī, part of which was cited above. Vol. i. p. 219, Yāḳūt has: "Urmiah . . . people believe it to be the city of Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians."

[3] Undoubtedly a mistaken reading. It should be "gold" (*b* for *n*).

which was to be the portion of her child, and of the good deeds he would do. He also asked that she should pray for him and for his people. The man did as he had been commanded. He came to Maryam — Peace on her! — and gave her that with which he had been sent, and made known to her the blessing of her child. Now when he wished to leave her, she gave him a sack of earth, saying: Tell thy master that a building will arise out of this earth. He took it and went his way. When he had come to the place where Shīz now is, — at that time it was a desert, — he took sick and thought he would die. So he buried the sack there. Thereupon he died. And the story got to the ears of the king. The Persians believe that he sent a trustworthy man to go to the place in which the first man had died, and build a fire-temple. But how shall I recognize this place? asked the man. Go, he said; it shall not be hidden from you. Now when he reached this place, he was in doubt, and wept, not knowing what to do. But when night closed in upon him, he saw a mighty fire arising from the place where the grave was. Thus he knew that this was the place for which he was looking. He went there, drew a line (in the ground) around the fire, and remained there over night. When morning came, he ordered a building to be erected where this line had been drawn. This building is the fire-temple in Shīz."[1] But Yāḳūt wisely adds: "This whole story comes from Abu Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Almuhalhal, the poet. I cannot vouch for the truth of it. For things are told on his authority which are superficial and untrue. I have incorporated it here as I found it, but Allah knows best. However, we have another tradition, that in Shīz there is the fire of Ādharḥash, a temple honoured of the Magians. It was customary for their kings, when they ascended the throne, to make a pilgrimage thither on foot. The people of Maragha and (the whole) of this neighbourhood call this place Kazna; but Allah knows best."

The connection of this story with Shīz is evidently due to the tradition that it was built by Hormuzd, for that is the name of one of the kings who are believed to have worshipped at the cradle of Jesus.[2]

A somewhat similar scepticism is shown by Al Masūdī (middle of tenth century), in relating the incident mentioned in the New Testament. In his *Medows*, vol. iv. 79, we read:[3] —

[1] See Wüstenfeld, *Zeitschr. für Erdkunde*, 1842, vol. ii.
[2] See Nestle, *Marginalien und Materialien*, *loc. cit.*
[3] I simply cite the French translation of Barbier de Meynard.

"On cite, par exemple, dans la même province de Fars, une source nommée *source de feu*, auprès de laquelle était bâti un temple. Lorsque le Messie vint au monde, le roi Korech lui envoya trois messagères, porteurs, le premier, d'un sac d'encens, le second, d'un sac de myrrhe, et le troisième, d'un sac rempli d'or. Ils se mirent en route, guidés par une étoile que le roi leur avait décrite, et arrivèrent en Syrie, auprès du Messie et de Marie, sa mère. Cette anecdote des trois messagers est rapportée par les Chrétiens avec des détails empreints d'exagération; elle se trouve aussi dans les Évangiles. Aussi on raconte que l'étoile avait apparu à Korech au moment de la naissance du Christ; qu'elle marchait lorsque les envoyés du roi étaient en route, qu'elle s'arrêtait lorsqu'ils s'arrêtaient, etc. On trouvera de plus amples détails dans nos Annales historiques, où nous avons rapporté les Versions des Guèbres et des Chrétiens sur cette légende. On y verra que Marie ayant donné aux messagers du roi un pain rond, ceux-ci après différentes aventures, le cachèrent sous un rocher; ce pain disparut au fond de la terre, dans la province du Fars; puis on creusa un puits en cet endroit, et l'on vit jaillir deux gerbes de feu qui brillaient à la surface du sol; en un mot, tout ce qui concerne cette légende se trouve dans nos Annales."

Yāḳūt has also a small article on Kazna, in which he says:[1] "It is a small place, about six parasangs distance from Marāgha. In it there is a place of worship of the Magians and an old fire-temple; also a great and very old palace built by King Kaiḥusrau." The fire-temple in Shīz is often mentioned by Arabian geographical and historical writers; but the name varies. Thus Ibn Ḥurdadhbah (who lived about 816, and whose father is said to have been a Magian[2]) speaks of[3] "Urmia, the city of Zarādusht and Salamās and Shīz, in which last city there is the fire-temple Adharjushnas,[4] which is held in high esteem by the Magians." Ibn al Fakīh al Hamadhānī, another geographical writer (about 910 A.D.), mentions[5] as cities of Adharbaijān: "Jangah,[6] Jābrawān, and Urmia,[7] the city of Zarādusht, and Shīz, in which there is the fire-temple Ādharjush-

[1] Vol. iv. p. 272.

[2] *Fihrist*, p. 149.

[3] *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1889, p. 119.

[4] Adara gusaçpa? Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 11.

[5] Ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1885, p. 286.

[6] = Kanza in the extract from Yāḳūt. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten Persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 250; *Journ. Royal Geogr. Soc.* x. p. 65, where Rawlinson identifies it with Takt i Suleiman.

[7] The same author says, p. 285: "Urmia is an old city. The Magians believe that their master, Zarādusht, came from there."

nas, which is held in high esteem by the Magians." In another place (p. 246) he is more explicit: "In this district (*i.e.* Farahān) there is a city called Furdujān,[1] in which there is an ancient fire-temple. It is one of the fires for which the Magians show an excessively great esteem — like the fire of Ādhaḥurrah,[2] and the fire of Jamma-Shīdh (Jemshīdh), which is the oldest, and the fire of Mā Jushnasp, which is the fire of Kaiḥusrau. Now the Magians held these three fires in an esteem which can hardly be comprehended. They say that with Zarduhusht was an angel, who certified to Kushtāsp that he (Zoroaster) was a messenger (of God).[3] Then *he* (angel) became fire again (?). As regards the fire of Jemshīdh, which is Ādharḥurrah, it was in Ḥuwārazm. Anushirwān removed it to Alkāriyān. Now when the Arabs came into power, the Magians were afraid that it would go out. So they divided it into two parts: one part they left in Alkāriyān, and one part was taken to Fasa; thinking that if one went out, the other would be left. Now Ādharjushnasp, the fire of Kaiḥusran, was in Adharbaijān. But Anushirwān removed it to Shīz. The fire of Zarduhusht is in the province of Nīsābūr. It was not removed. . . ." Al Fakīh[4] goes even so far as to explain the origin of fire-worship: "This Zardusht heaped threats upon them when he saw the cold in their land. For this reason, he commanded them to worship the fires."

The preceding account may be supplemented by Al Masūdī in his *Meadows of Gold*, iv. p. 72. He relates how fire-worship was introduced by Alfridūn in Hurāsān. He built fire-temples at Ṭūs, Buḥarā, Sajastān, Shīz, and Rāu: "Les dix pyrées que nous venons de mentionner dataient d'une époque antérieure à l'apparition de Zoroastre, fils d'Espemān, le prophète des Mages. Du vivant de Zoroastre, plusieurs temples furent consacrés au culte du feu; un, entre autres, à Neïçabour, dans le Khoraçān, d'autres à Niça et el-Beïdā, dans le Fars. Sur l'invitation de Zoroastre, le roi Youstasf fit rechercher du feu vénéré par Djemchid; apres de longues investigations, il le découvrit dans la capitale du Khārezm, et le fit transporter à Darabdjerd, chef-lieu d'un district de la Perse. Le temple qu'il y bâtit est nommé aujourd'hui, en 332 de l'hégire, *Azerdzoui*[5]

[1] Or *Farhajān*.

[2] Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, etc., pp. 281 *sq.* Beruni, translated by Sachau, p. 215, speaks of the famous fire-temple *in* Ādharkhūrā in Fars.

[3] Cf. what is said in Vishtāsp Nāmah. Darmstetter, *Zendavesta*, iii. p. xvi.

[4] *Loc. cit.* p. 248.

[5] Read Ādhar ḥurra, according to Hoffmann, *loc. cit.* p. 285. In his *Kitāb al Tanbiyah*, Mas'ūdi speaks of the fire of Adharhash. See *Prairies d'Or*, vol. ix. p. 326.

ce qui signifie 'le feu fleuve'; *azer* étant un des noms du feu; *dzoui* un des noms signifiant fleuve, dans la langue primitive de la Perse. Les Mages ont plus de respect pour ce temple que pour tous les autres édifices religieux. Cependant une tradition persane rapporte que ce fut Key-Khosrau qui, s'étant rendu dans le Khārezm, pendant son expédition contre les Turcs, prit des informations sur le feu sacré, le retrouva et lui rendit hommage. D'autres disent qu'Anouchirwan le fit transporter à Karian (petite ville de la Perse). A l'époque de la conquête Musulmane, les Mages, craignant que le feu vénéré dans ce temple ne fut éteint par les Musulmans, n'en laissèrent qu'une partie à Karian, et transportèrent le reste à Nica et el-Beïde district du Fars, afin de conserver l'un des deux autels si l'autre était détruit."[1]

Still another account is found in the History of the Religious Sects and Philosophical Schools by Abu-l Fatḥ Muḥammad Al-Shahrastānī (born 1086 A.D.).[2] "Was nun aber die Feuertempel der Madschūs anbetrifft, so war der erste Tempel, welchen Afrīdūn baute der Feuertempel in Tūs, und ein anderer war in der Stadt Buchāra d. i. Bardisūn, und Bahman baute einen Tempel in Sidschistān, welcher Karkara hiess. Sie hatten auch einen Feuertempel in dem Gebiete von Buchāra, welcher Kubadsān hiess, und einen Tempel, welcher Kuwīsah genannt wurde, zwischen Fars und Iszbahān, welchen Kaichusrau gebaut hat, und einen andern in Kumis, welcher Dscharīr genannt wurde; ein anderer Feuertempel hiess Kankadaz, welchen Sijāwusch im Osten von Szīn gebaut hat, und ein anderer zu Arradschān in Fars, welchen Arradschān, der Grossvater von Kuschtāsf, gebaut hat. Diese Tempel bestanden vor Zarāduscht, dann baute Zarāduscht einen neuen Feuertempel in Nīsabūr und einen andern in Nisā. Kuschtāsf aber befahl, man solle ein Feuer suchen, welches Dscham verehrt hatte, und man

[1] There is another Arabic tradition, which connects the beginnings of Zoroastrianism with Media Proper, *i.e.* Rai. Yāḳūt has preserved it (i. p. 244): "Notūnāwand . . . the name of a celebrated fortress in Dunbāwand, in the province of Rai. It is also called Jarhud. It is one of the oldest fortresses and well-guarded strongholds. It is said to have been inhabited for more than three thousand years. During the time of the Persians it was a stronghold of the Maṣmaghān, the king of this district, who placed absolute reliance in it. Maṣmaghān means Mas + Maghān; *Mas* means 'the great one'; *Maghān* means 'the Magians.' The whole signifies 'The great one of the Magians.' Ḫālid ibn Barmak besieged it, when he overcame its king and destroyed his power." See Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, Paris, 1861, p. 33; *Sacred Books of the East*, iv. p. xlviii.

[2] Ed. Haarbrücker, p. 298.

fand es in der Stadt Chuwarazm und brachte es nach Dārābdschard und es wurde Ādsarchuā genannt und die Madschūs ehrten es mehr als alle übrigen. Nachdem aber Kaichusrau zum Kampfe gegen Afrāsijāb ausgezogen war, ehrte er es und betete es an. Man erzählt dass Nūschirwān der gewesen sei, welcher es nach Kārmān brachte, einen Theil jedoch liess man zurück und einen brachte man nach Nisā. Im Lande Rum war ein Feurtempel vor dem Thore von Konstantinopel, welchen Schābūr ibn Ardaschīr erbaut hatte und er horte nich auf bis zu der Zeit des al-Mahdi. Und ein Feuertempel ist in Isfīniyā in der Nähe der *Stadt des Heils* (Bagdāds), welcher von der Turan, der Tochter des Kisra, herstammt. Ebenso giebt es in Indien und Zzin Feuertempel.[1] Die griechen haben drei Tempel, worin kein Feuer ist, und wir haben sie erwähnt. Die Madschūs verehrten das Feuer aber nach verschiedenen Ansichten, von denem eine ist, dass es eine edle, hohe Substanz sei; ferne dass es das sei, was Ibrāhīm verbrannt habe, und es gehört dazu ihre Meinung, dass die Verehrung sie in jener Welt von der strafe des Feuers frei mache, und mit einem Worte, es ist ihre Kibla, ihr Versöhnungsmittel und ihr Zeichen."

The best attempt at a philosophical presentation of the Zoroastrian system was made by the same Sharastānī, whose account I append in Haarbrücker's translation (i. pp. 275 *sq.*).

Die Madschūs (Magier).

"Sie nehmen zwei Principien an, wie wir bereits angegeben haben, nur dass die ursprünglichen Madschūs der Ansicht waren, es sei nicht möglich, dass beide Principien ewig, ohne Anfang seien, sondern das Licht ohne Anfang, die Finsterniss aber entstanden sei; dann waren sie verschiedener Meinung über die Ursache ihrer Entstehung, ob sie von dem Lichte entstanden sei, da doch das Licht nichts theilweise Schlechtes hervorbringe; wie also das Princip des Bösen oder etwas Anderes entstehe, da es doch Nichts gäbe, was mit dem Lichte an dem Hervorbringen und dem Ewigsein Theil

[1] In his chapter on China (vol. iii. p. 457), Yāḳūt mentions in a place called Baghānīn(?) "a temple of gold in a desert four parasangs long. Snow never falls upon it, though there be snow all around it. In this temple there is a place for observing the stars. The Indians and Magians honour it greatly. This desert is called 'the desert of' Zoroaster, the head of the Magians.' The people of these lands say that whenever a man goes from this desert seeking sovereignty, no force can overcome him, wherever he may turn." This notice must stand in some connection with the reputed journeys of Zoroaster to India and China.

nehme? Hierbei tritt der Irrthum der Madschūs an den Tag. Sie behaupten auch, das Erste, was es von Personen gegeben, sei Kajūmarth gewesen, zuweilen sagen sie auch Zarwān, *der Grosse*, und der letzte Prophet sei Zarāduscht. Die Kajūmarthīja sagen, Kajūmarth sei Adam gewesen, wie denn in den Chronologien der Inder und Perser Kajūmarth als Adam vorkommt; die übrigen Verfasser von Chronologien weichen aber von ihnen ab.

"Sie (die Zarāduschtīja) sind die Anhanger des Zarāduscht Ibn Būrchasb, welcher in der Zeit des Königs Kuschtāsf Ibn Luhrasb erschien; sein Vater war von Adsarbaidschān und seine Mutter mit Namen Dughdu, von Raï.

"Sie glauben, dass sie Propheten und Könige gehabt haben, deren erster Kajūmarth gewesen sei, welcher zuerst auf der Erde geherrscht und in Ifztachr seinen Wohnsitz gehabt habe; ihm sei Oschhandsch Ibn Farāwal gefolgt, der nach dem Lande der Inder gezogen sei und daselbst eine Berufung erhalten habe. Ihm sei Tahmūrath gefolgt, in dessen erstem Regierungsjahre die Szābia aufgetreten seien; nach ihm sei sein Bruder, der König Dscham, gekommen, nach welchem dann Propheten und Könige gekommen seien, zu denen Manūdschahr gehöre. Dieser sei nach Babel gezogen und dort geblieben. Sie sind der Ansicht, dass Mūsa in seiner Zeit aufgetreten sei. Und so fort bis die Herrschaft an Kuschtāsf Ibn Luhrasb gekommen sei, in dessen Zeit Zarāduscht, der Weise, aufgetreten sei. Sie glauben, dass Gott zu einer gewissen Zeit seiner Herrschaft, welche in den ersten Blättern und in den erhabenen Büchern verzeichnet stand, eine geistige Schöpfung geschaffen habe; als aber dreitausend Jahre vergangen seien, habe er seinen Willen in der Gestalt von glänzendem Lichte mach der Zusammensetzung der Gestalt des Menschen herabgesandt, welchen siebzig von den verehrungswürdigen Engeln umgaben, und habe Sonne, Mond, Gestirne und die Erde und die Menschen dreitausend Jahre unbeweglich geschaffen; dann habe er den Geist des Zarāduscht in einen Baum gethan, welchen er im obersten Himmel hatte wachsen lassen und auf die Spitze eines Berges in Adsarbaidschān verpflantz hatte, welcher Ismuwīds'char hiess. Dann habe er die Persönlichkeit des Zarāduscht mit der Milch einer Kuh gemischt, so dass ihn der Vater des Zarāduscht getrunken habe; dann sei er Samen, dann ein Stück Fleisch in dem Leibe seiner Mutter geworden, es habe ihr aber der Satan nachgestellt und ihren Zustand verändert; da habe seine Mutter einen Ruf vom Himmel gehört, worin Anweisungen über ihre Heilung enthalten waren, und sie sei wieder gesund geworden.

"Als er dann geboren worden sei, habe er ein Gelächter ausgestossen, was alle Anwesenden vernahmen; und man habe hinterlistig gegen Zarāduscht gehandelt, so dass man ihn zwischen den Weg der Rinder und den Weg der Pferde und den Weg der Wölfe legte, aber jedes einzelne Stück von ihnen sei aufgestanden, um ihn vor seinem geschlecht zu schützen.[1] Nachdem er dann das Alter von dreissig Jahren erreicht habe, habe ihn Gott als Propheten und Gesandten an die Schopfung gesendet und er habe sich mit der Berufung an den König Kuschtāsf gewendet und der habe seinen Glauben angenommen; sein Glauben habe in der Verehrung Gottes und der Nichtvererung des Satan, in dem Gebote des Guten und dem Verbote des Bösen, und der Enthaltung von unreinan Dingen bestanden. Er sagte, das Licht und die Finsterniss seien zwei Grundstoffe, die sich feindlich gegenüberständen und ebenso Jazdān und Ahriman, und beide seien der Anfang der geschaffenen Dinge der Welt, die Zusammensetzungen seien aus der Vermischung beider hervorgegangen, und die Gestalten seien aus den verschiedenen Zusammensetzungen entstanden, Gott aber sei der Schöpfer des Lichtes und der Finsterniss und Beider Urheber; er sei Einer, ohne Genossen, ohne Gegner und ohne einen, der ihm gleiche, und es könne auf ihn die Existenz der Finsterniss nicht in der Weise zurückgeführt werden, wie es die Zarwānīja behaupten, sondern Gutes and Böses, Heil und Verderben, Reinheit und Unreinheit seien nur aus der Vermischung des Lichtas und der Finsterniss hervorgegangen, und wenn die beiden sich nicht vermisch hätten, würde es keine Existenz für die Welt geben; beide ständen sich gegenuber und kämpften miteinander, bis das Licht die Finsterniss überwunden habe und das Gute das Böse, dan werde das Gute frei in seine Welt kommen und das Böse in seine Welt hinabgestossen werden und das sei die Ursache der Befreiung; Gott der Allmächtige aber habe sie nach der Weisheit, welche er in der Zusammensetzung erblickt, gemischt und vermengt. Bis weilen setzte er auch das Licht als Grundstoff und sprach sich so aus: seine Existenz ist eine wirkliche, die Finsterniss aber folge wie der Schatten in Beziehung auf die Person; er urtheilte nemlich, dass derselbe ein Geschaffenes sei, aber nicht ein in Wirklichkeit Geschaffenes, er (Gott) habe also das Licht hervorgebracht und die Finsterniss entstehe als Folge, denn zur Naturnothwendigkeit der Existenz gehöre der Gegensatz, ihre (der Finsterniss) Existenz sei also nothwendig, indem sie in die Schöp-

[1] Professor Jackson informs me that this episode is alluded to also in the *Zartusht Nāmah* (thirteenth century).

fung falle, wenn auch nicht durch die erste Absicht wie wir es bei der Person und dem Schatten angegeben haben. Er hat auch ein Buch abgefasst, von dem man sagt, dass es ihm offenbart sei d. i. der Zandawastā, welcher die Welt in zwei Theile theilt Mīnah (Paradies) und Kītī (Welt)[1] d. i. den geistigen und den körperlichen, den Geist und den Körper. Und wie die Schöpfung in zwei Welten getheilt ist, so, sagt er, werde auch das, was in der Welt ist, in zwei Theile getheilt, Bachschisch (Gnade) und Kunisch (Thätigkeit) worunter er die Anordnung (Gottes) und das Thun (des Menschen) versteht, und ein Jeder sei in Beziehung auf das Zweiter voherbestimmt. Dann besprach er die Wege der gesetzlichen Pflichten, und das sind die Bewegungen des Menschen, und theilte sie in drei Theile Manisch, Gūjisch und Kunisch, worunter er den Glauben, die Rede und das Thun versteht; und mit diesen drei sei die Verpflichtung beschlossen. Wenn der Mensch nun darin zu wenig thut, so fällt er aus dem Glauben und Gehorsam, hält er sich aber in diesen Bewegungen nach Massgabe des Gebotes und Gesetzes, so erlangt er das Grösste Glück. Die Zarāduschtīja schreiben dem Zarāduscht viele Wunderthaten zu; dazu gehört, dass die Vorderfüsse des Rosses des Guschtāsf in seinen Leib hineingezogen wurden, während Zarāduscht im Gefängnisse war; als er ihn frei liess, wurden die Füsse des Pferdes auch frei; ferner dass er in Dainawar bei einem Blinden vorbeigegangen sei und gesagt habe, nehmet ein Kraut, welches er ihnen beschrieb, und drucket den Saft desselben in sein Auge, so wird er sehen können; sie thaten es und der Blinde wurde sehend.[2] Dieses fällt aber unter seine Bekanntschaft mit der Eigsnthümlichkeit des Krautes, und gehört in keiner Weise zu den Wunderthaten.

"Zu dem, was Zarāduscht in dem Buche Zandawastā mittheilt gehört folgendes. Er sagt, am Ende der Zeit werde ein Mann mit Namen Aschīdsarbakā, d. h. der wissend Mann, erscheinen, welcher die Welt mit Glauben und Gerechtigkeit zieren werde; dann werde aber in seiner Zeit Butjārah kommen und das Verderben in seine Sache und sein Reich werfen zwanzig Jahre lang; dann werde Aschīdsarbakā darnach den Bewohnern der Welt erscheinen und die Gerechtigkeit lebendig machen und die Ungerechtigkeit vernichten und die verderbten Sitten auf ihren ersten Standpunkt zurückführen; und es werden ihm die Könige gerhorsam sein und das was

[1] Allusion to the frequent antithesis *mainyava gaēthya*, 'heavenly and earthly,' in the Avesta (Jackson).

[2] The 'black horse' episode appears also in the *Zartusht Nāmah* (Jackson).

er unternimmt werde ihm glücken, und er werde den rechten Glauben schützen und in seiner Zeit werde Sicherheit und Ruhe eintreten und Ruhen der Zwietracht und Aufhoren des Unglückes. Gott weiss es am besten!"

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Literary Frauds among the Greeks.

Our knowledge of the social, political, and intellectual development of the Greeks and Romans, in all its varying phases and manifold ramifications, primarily and ultimately rests upon the written documents that have come down to us.

It is, indeed, true that the archæologist has frequently succeeded in extracting from dumb, cold marble, or crustated metal, the interesting story of contemporaneous achievements; it is true that the scientific examination of ancient ruins and remains has, particularly in our own day, resulted in illuminating large areas of previous darkness with an unexpected flood of light; but with these exceptions, it is no less true that the preponderating mass of our information lies embedded in the literary documents that have survived the ravages of time.

But while inscriptions and ruins, by their very nature, possess well-nigh all the elements of absolute authenticity, this is far from being the case with *written* records. For in their transmission from century to century they are all but certain to become distorted or adulterated; and thus, while professing to furnish reliable evidence, may in reality embody only the researches and opinions of a later age, based upon a more or less trustworthy tradition, or the result of a dim, if not wholly false, historical perspective. But to whatever extent any of these disturbing agencies have been operative, to just that extent will our judgment of ancient life and thought become incomplete, prejudicial, and in many instances radically wrong.

Under these circumstances it devolves upon the historian or philologist, if he wishes to stand upon firm and solid ground, to determine as far as possible, by proper critical methods, the degree of trustworthiness of those written records to which he owes his information.

Now of all the obstacles thrown into the path of the modern student, desirous of thoroughly understanding classical antiquity, perhaps none are fraught with greater danger or productive of

greater perplexity and error than those arising from the apocryphal character of so many works of Greek Literature.

I shall endeavour in the following pages to draw attention to some of the more important and interesting of these, so far as they antedate our era, an exhaustive survey of the entire field being quite impossible within the narrow limits to which this paper is necessarily confined.

The earliest example of a literary fraud, that has come under my observation, dates back as far as the sixth century B.C.; for, according to Herodotus,[1] *Onomacritus*, the friend and counsellor of the tyrant Pisistratus, was banished from Athens for forging certain oracles (*χρησμοί*) which he ascribed to the mythical bard Musæus. In later writers, the same Onomacritus is brought into prominent connection with certain religious doctrines, which passed under the name of Orpheus,[2] and the so-called **Τελεταί** are expressly attributed to him by Suidas,[3] and they are quoted as Orphic as early as Aristophanes,[4] apparently without any suspicion as to their supposititious character.[5] Theological writings having once been successfully fathered upon the Thracian bard, it was but natural that his illustrious name frequently attached itself to the numerous dogmatic expositions of the Orphic sect. Of the vast apocryphal literature thus accumulated, comparatively few remains have been preserved. But if we may regard these, as we are perfectly just in doing, as fairly representative specimens, these forgeries must have been of the very clumsiest description. For, although they profess to be the productions of one historical personage, supposed to antedate the Trojan war, distinct chronological strata can be traced in them all, inasmuch as they reflect the philosophy of the age which gave them birth; Platonic, Stoical, Neo-Platonic, and even biblical reminiscences succeeding one another in regular order. Historical truth is, of course, wholly disregarded, and ridiculous anachronisms meet us at every turn. Thus to mention but one instance: In the so-called Orphic *Argonautica*, Orpheus himself seriously informs

[1] vii. 6. See also Paus. i. 22. 7; viii. 31. 1; ix. 35. 1; Clem. Alex. *Στρωμ.* i., p. 143, 441.

[2] Arist. *περὶ φιλοσοφίας* (fragm. 10 R.): *αὐτοῦ* ('Ορφέως) *μὲν εἶναι τὰ δόγματα, ταῦτα δέ φησιν* 'Ονομάκριτον *ἐν ἔπεσι κατατεῖναι.* Tatian, *adv. Græc.* 41 (p. 158, Ott.). But Clem. Alex. *Στρωμ.* i. 332 d and others (cited in Diels, *Doxogr. Græci*, p. 610, 15), speak of Onomacritus as the *author* of these *εἰς 'Ορφέα φερόμενα ποιήματα.*

[3] *s.v.* *'Ορφεύς.*

[4] *Ran.* 1032.

[5] Cp. in general Ritschl, *Opusc.* i. 239 ff.; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, pp. 331 ff.; Rohde, *Psyche*, ii. 403 f.

us[1] that he soon expects to reach the coast of Ireland, probably landing at Queenstown on his way to Liverpool!

But transparent as these forgeries appear to us, they were generally accepted as genuine by the ancients, the Church Fathers in particular treating them as such for obvious reasons.

The first who seems to have had any misgivings on this subject was Aristotle, who in his work *de anima*[2] speaks of the 'so-called Orphic treatises,' while in his lost dialogue 'On philosophy,' as his commentator Philoponus informs us, he actually went so far as to question the historical existence of Orpheus himself.[3] Such isolated scepticism, however, produced little or no effect, and it is not till a much later day that the conviction of the apocryphal nature of Orphic literature took a firm hold in the minds of some scholars. The opinions of these critics seem to be reflected in the long catalogue of Orphic writings preserved by Suidas and Clemens Alexandrinus, for we there find some dozen names given as the real authors[4] of a number of Orphic treatises. The list itself is, however, open to serious suspicions; for, in the first place, it is not probable that scholars of a later age were still in a position to ascertain the real authors, especially if they were as ancient as the half-mythical Pythagoras,[5] or Zopyrus and Orpheus of Crotona, whom we happen to know as the contemporaries of Onomacritus, they being all members of the famous commission which Pisistratus is reputed to have appointed for the purpose of collecting the *disiecta membra* of the Homeric poems. In the second place, the attributions of Clemens and Suidas[6] conflict with the statement of others. Thus, *e.g.*, Ion of Chios, the famous poet and friend of Sophocles, is mentioned by Suidas and Diogenes Laertius[7] as the author of an Orphic hymn and of a work entitled Τριαγμοί; but according to Harpocration,[8] Callimachus attributed this treatise to Epigenes. But

[1] v. 1174 *νήσοισιν Ἰερνίσιν ἄσσον ἵκωμαι.*

[2] i. 5. 410 b 27.

[3] Cicero probably had this very passage in mind in his *de nat. deor.* i. 38. 107: *Orpheum poetam docet Aristoteles numquam fuisse.*

[4] Pythagoras, Brotinus, Cercops(?), Onomacritus, Zopyrus of Heraclea, Timocles (Teleocles) of Syracuse, Prodicus of Samos, Herodicus of Perinthus, Ps. Ion of Chios, Theognitus of Thessaly, Persinus of Miletus, Nicias the Eleatic, Orpheus of Crotona, Orpheus of Camarina. Cf. Rohde, *Psyche* ii., pp. 389 ff.

[5] On the interrelationship between the Pythagorean and Orphic doctrines, see Rohde, *l.c.*

[6] On the authority of the younger Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who in his turn is indebted for the information under notice to Epigenes and some other unknown writer.

[7] viii. 8.

[8] *s.v.* Ἴων.

quite apart from this discrepancy, Ion cannot well have been guilty of such a forgery, when we recall the testimony of Aristoxenus that this poet had himself accused Pythagoras of a similar literary fraud.[1] All this rather creates the strong presumption that most of the names mentioned as authors of the various Orphic treatises were due to mere guesswork, aided to a certain extent by the fact that some of these names, such as Pythagoras, Onomacritus, Brotinus, and Cercops, were traditionally associated with the Orphic religion. In the case of Orpheus of Crotona and Orpheus of Camarina, the identity of the name itself with that of the alleged founder of the sect was sufficient to fasten upon them some of the Orphic tracts in circulation.

The entire classical period of Greek literature furnishes us with no authentic instance of a literary fraud; but this fact will no longer surprise us, when we remember that this epoch marks the very culmination of the creative faculty of the Greek intellect, and as a consequence all the enduring monuments of genius which this era produced are characterized by originality of thought and expression, each author exhibiting an individuality quite his own. And if it be added that the only channel of publicity was a vast listening public, an audience in the literal meaning of the term, the natural obstacles in the way of a successful perpetration of literary forgery will be seen to have been well-nigh insurmountable. In fact, literary frauds cannot thrive in an age of intellectual productivity. It was not till a *reading* public had arisen in Greece, the existence of which can hardly be said to antedate the days of Aristotle and Isocrates, that such practices found more favourable conditions of growth; for now the poet or prose writer no longer stood in the full glare of national publicity, and the reader had ceased to be in living touch, as it were, with the author.

At first literary frauds appeared in the more modest guise of *interpolations*, the best illustration of which being furnished by the notoriously common practice by which the actors of the fourth century were wont to tamper with the texts of the great Attic dramatists. This abuse must have assumed such alarming proportions in the days of the orator Lycurgus that this statesman, as we learn from a well-known passage in the 'Lives of the Ten Orators,'[2]

[1] Diog. Laert. *l.c.*

[2] Pseudo Plut. *Vit. X orat.*, p. 841 f. εἰσήνεγκε δὲ καὶ νόμους . . . τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτῶν (*i.e.* Æsch., Soph., Eur.) ἐν κοινῷ γραψαμένους φυλάττειν καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγιγνώσκειν(?) τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις, οὐκ ἐξεῖναι γὰρ ἄλλως (αὐτὰς) ὑποκρίνεσθαι. Cf. O. Korn, *De publico Æsch. Soph. Eur. fabularum exemplari Lycurgo auctore confecto*, Bonn, 1863; Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, xiv. 151, *Eurip. Heracl.* i. 130.

determined to check the evil in question by the passage of a law which provided for an official and authentic transcription of the dramas of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, from the text of which no actor was permitted to depart on penalty of forfeiting his license to act on an Athenian stage. It is not probable that this wise measure accomplished the end desired; for, in the first place, there is no reason to believe that *all* the tragedies were copied, or that the transcriptions actually made exhibited a philologically accurate recension of the existing MSS. In the second place, interpolations naturally crept in during the long interval between Lycurgus' official copy and its transmission to Alexandria. This is amply confirmed by the numerous passages expressly designated as stage interpolations by the ancient scholiasts.[1] Modern scholars have succeeded in greatly enlarging the list,[2] although it must be said that they have not infrequently thrust their critical instruments into the very flesh of the poet, in their precipitous eagerness to rid him of alleged intolerable blemishes, while in many cases an evident corruption has been without any intrinsic probability attributed to actors' corrections. At the present day, however, a healthier conservatism is gradually healing the wounds which arbitrary æsthetic judgments and purely subjective conceptions of poetic propriety have so long inflicted upon the helpless tragedians of Athens.

The entire subject of interpolations, though coming quite properly under the head of literary frauds, whether regarded in this light by the perpetrators themselves or not, cannot of course be discussed without far transcending the limits set for this paper. A few additional examples by way of illustration must, therefore, suffice.

The works of Hippocrates are said by Galen to have been repeatedly corrupted by the interpolations of unscrupulous and uncritical

[1] Cf. *e.g.* Schol. Soph. *Ajax* 554. 570. 812. 839 ff., *Antig.* 45, *O. C.* 640, Eur. *Med.* 84. 148. 169. 228. 356. 380. 910, *Orest.* 57. 268. 279. 643. 957. 1336, *Andr.* 7, *Phœn.* 264.

[2] Some of the many alleged interpolations attributed to the actors may be here enumerated: Æsch. *Sept.* 195. 601, *Agam.* 7. 288. 902. 1591, *Choeph.* 712 ff. 993–1004, *Eum.* 283. 681–710. 767 ff. 858 ff.; Soph. *Ajax* 855 ff. 966 ff. 971 ff. 1105 f. 1396 f. 1417, *Ant.* 46. 506 f. 1250, *Elect.* 113 f. 691. 941. 1007 f. 1173, *Phil.* 670. 1365 ff. 1407. 1442 ff.; Eur. *Alc.* 70 f. 207 f. 312. 651 f. 818 ff., *Androm.* 222 ff. 668–677, *Bacch.* 209. 243. 286–297. 316 ff. 333 ff. 1027, *Elect.* 352 ff. 1097 ff. 1175 f., *Hec.* 555 f. 793 ff. 831 ff. 970 ff., *Hel.* 263 ff. 306 ff. 915 ff. 1019 ff., *Heracl.* 220. 456 ff. 494 ff., *Hipp.* 29 ff., *Suppl.* 176 ff. 436. 531 ff. 899. 1112, *Ion* 1355 ff., *Iph. Aul.* 413–441. 465 f. 500 ff. 508 ff. 528–542 (this play has particularly suffered at the hands of modern critics), *Iph. Taur.* 1026. 1074, *Med.* 40 ff. 949 ff. 1006, *Orest.* 292. 588 ff. 625 f. 782. 907. 933. 1024, *Phœn.* 555 ff. 1181 ff. 1378 ff., *Troad.* 1022, etc., etc.

editors,[1] and the works of Aristotle seem to have been similarly dealt with by Andronicus, their editor. Finally, I mention the famous interpolation in the *Alexandra* of Lycophron.[2] The spuriousness of this passage is made evident by a number of allusions to events which cannot possibly have been known to the poet, unless we are willing to believe that he shared in some degree the prophetic power of his unfortunate heroine.

If the classical period of Greek literature was singularly free from literary frauds proper, the centuries subsequent to the time of Aristotle may be said to have made ample amends for this deficiency.

I have already remarked upon the essential conditions which rendered literary frauds in Greece possible. To these we now add some positive motives for their perpetration which the Alexandrian epoch furnished. The death of Alexander, of Aristotle, and of Demosthenes, occurring almost at the same time, constitutes one of the most marvellously significant synchronisms in the history of civilization, for it as emphatically marks the end of the productive period of Greek genius as it does that of the political independence of Hellas. There followed an age characterized by antiquarian research and scholasticism. The fountains of originality being now exhausted, and with no great objects to evoke enthusiasm or excite patriotic devotion, scholars turned their attention to taking an inventory, so to speak, of their glorious literary inheritance. The student and commentator succeeded the creative artist. Theories of art, of music, and of poetry, abstracted from the vast material handed down from the past, appeared in great profusion, and searching investigation into the lives and works of the great literary masters was excited on every side. This penetrating scrutiny in fields of research hitherto entirely neglected must have soon revealed the fact that the writings of many authors, having been eclipsed by the noonday splendour of some greater genius, had been allowed to perish, and that authentic biographical information was in many instances utterly lacking. Now under the stimulus of this curiosity, only the more enhanced by the obstacles thrown in its way, it is not difficult to understand how anecdote and fable gradually came to usurp the place of truth and facts no longer ascertainable, and that men of talent felt themselves induced to fill up some of these gaps by productions of their own, — a state of mind quite analogous to

[1] Cf. Ilberg, *Studia Pseudo-Hippocratea*, 1883, and on Galen's critical method in determining interpolations, see Bröcker, *Rhein. Mus.* xl. 415 ff.

[2] Vss. 1228–1280. See also 1446–1450.

that which resulted in the phenomenon of so-called pious frauds, with which the history of early Church literature has made us familiar.

One of the most interesting of these forgeries was that committed by *Heraclides Ponticus*. This prolific author, a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, was a man of unusual ability and encyclopædic attainments, and in consequence his works, embracing almost every branch of human knowledge, constituted a highly welcome repository of information for later writers. But great as was his renown in antiquity, his reputation for veracity and trustworthiness was not of an equally high order, as we must infer from certain criticisms in Cicero and Plutarch.[1] It is to him, for example, that we are probably indebted for the discovery of such unquestionably mythical predecessors of Homer as Philammon, Linos, and Amphion,[2] and a great number of literary anecdotes, which have come down to us through various channels, have also been traced to his fertile imagination.

Now this same Heraclides is accused by Diogenes Laertius,[3] on the authority of Aristoxenus, of having written a number of tragedies[4] which he passed off as original compositions of Thespis, the father of Attic tragedy. We have no adequate reasons for doubting this definite statement of Aristoxenus, though the grounds upon which it was based are unknown to us. But whatever they may have been, it is certain that the ancients paid no heed to the accusation, for Plutarch, Pollux, and Clemens cite a number of verses from Thespis without suspicion.[5] Plutarch even observes, somewhat naïvely, that the verses cited by him bear an astonishing resemblance to a thought of Plato. So singular a parallelism would, indeed, appear rather remarkable in the case of Thespis; it ceases

[1] Cic. *de nat. deor.* i. 13. 34 *ex eadem Platonis schola Ponticus Heraclides puerilibus fabulis refersit libros;* Plut. *Cam.* 22.

[2] Bergk, *Griech. Literat.* i. 404.

[3] v. 92.

[4] We know the names of four of them: Ἱερεῖς, Ἡλίθεοι, Πενθεύς, Ἆθλα Πελίου ἢ Φόρβας. The *double* title clearly points to the fact that the Alexandrian philologians (Alexander Ætolus or Callimachus in his Πίνακες) had included these plays in their catalogues without recognizing their spurious character, and had added the second title to distinguish this play from other plays entitled Ἆθλα, *e.g.* of Achæus and of one Diotimus. The Διδασκαλίαι, being *contemporary* documents, did not, of course, record double titles, nor did the *chronological* list of Aristotle contain such, for equally obvious reasons.

[5] Plut. *de aud. poet.* 36 C; Clem. Alex. Στρωμ. v. 675; Pollux viii. 13. 45, and cf. Bentley, *Diss. on the Epist. of Phalaris*, p. 82. 266.

to be so, however, if the lines in question were composed by Heraclides, himself a pupil of the philosopher. This palpable anachronism will justify the further inference that Heraclides took no particular pains to prevent his forgery from being detected, by conforming these plays to the primitive conditions of tragedy in Thespis' time, — a supposition well confirmed by the observation that the extant verses are all written in iambic trimeters, but this metre, as Aristotle[1] expressly informs us, was not originally employed in the drama. It is even doubtful whether this ancient dramatist ever consigned his plays to writing; at all events, we hear nothing of them before Heraclides. Aristotle, significantly enough, never mentions Thespis, and Bentley even maintained that he wrote only satyric plays.

In this connection it is interesting to learn[2] that the uncritical credulity which saved Heraclides from detection was on one occasion exemplified in his own person, for Dionysius Metathemenos is said by Diogenes[3] to have attributed a tragedy of his own composition, entitled *Parthenopœus*, to no less a poet than Sophocles, upon which Heraclides, unconscious of any fraud, made some learned comments in his work on the three tragedians.

This seems to have been the only instance of a literary forgery fathered upon the great tragic trio.[4] The comic poets were treated with far less respect. Thus we still have a number of iambic trimeters attributed to the early comedian *Susarion*[5] which are certainly spurious, as shown by the use of the meter. The supposititious character of comedies of *Chionides* and *Magnes* did not escape the Alexandrian scholars,[6] and among the comedies of *Aristophanes* we find four plays whose authenticity was denied by ancient critics.[7] The genuineness of many plays of *Epicharmus* was also called into question, some recognizing only thirty-five, while others went as high as fifty-two or forty-two.[8]

[1] *Poet.* c. 4. 1449 a *τότε μέτρον ἐκ τετραμέτρου ἰαμβεῖον ἐγένετο· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρῶντο . . . λέξεως δὲ γενομένης αὐτὴ ἡ φύσις τὸ οἰκεῖον μέτρον εὗρε.*

[2] Diog. Laert. *l.c.*

[3] Diog. Laert. v. 92.

[4] The *Rhesus* of Euripides is not a case in point. See below.

[5] Anon. *de com.* iii.; Bentley, *op. cit.*, p. 235 ff., strangely conceives that they may possibly be genuine, provided they are not regarded as occurring in a *drama*.

[6] Athen. iv. 137 E, xiv. 638 D: *ὁ τοὺς εἰς Χιωνίδην ἀναφερομένους ποιήσας, Πτώχους*; ix. 367 f., xiv. 638 e: *ὁ τὰ εἰς Μάγνητα ἀναφερόμενα ποιήσας.*

[7] *Vita Arist.* xi. 85 Dübn. *Ποιήσις, Ναυαγός, Νῆσοι* and *Νίοβος.*

[8] Athen. xiv. 648 D: *οἱ τὰ εἰς Ἐπίχαρμον ἀναφερόμενα ποιήματα πεποιηκότες . . . τὰ δὲ ψευδεπιχάρμεια ταῦτα ὅτι πεποιήκασιν ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι, Χρυσόγο-*

While the forgery of Heraclides and others may be said to have established an unbroken series of tragic and comic poets from Thespis and Susarion down, representing every phase of the Greek drama, from its origin to its decline, other "ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι" kindly lent their literary skill and learning to fill up a deplorable gap in Greek *historiography*. At all events, Dionysius[1] expressly informs us that the works of most of the older λογογράφοι, such as *Cadmus*, *Charon* of Lampsacus, *Acusilaus*,[2] *Hippys* of Rhegium,[3] and even of *Hecatæus*,[4] were plainly spurious.[5]

None of these works have survived, or else only in scattered fragments. Dionysius' statement may, however, be substantiated, at least in one instance, by the story which Suidas has preserved concerning Acusilaus. This writer, says the lexicographer, is reported to have secured the greater part of his historical material from some bronze tablets which his father accidentally discovered in the cellar of his house.

The ancient forgers frequently had recourse to similar fictions; for, however transparent they may seem to us, the accidental character of the alleged discoveries doubtless had the desired effect of giving to these literary frauds an air of verisimilitude and intrinsic authenticity which in its turn invested the information furnished with an importance and interest which it in reality was perhaps far from possessing.

Some of the odes of *Sappho*, handed down to Alexandrian philologists, also seem to have been of questionable authenticity.[6] The didactic sayings of *Theognis*, and the erotic songs of *Anacreon*, were diluted with the effusions of unknown bards to such an extent that it is often very difficult — in many cases quite impossible — to

νός τε ὁ αὐλητής, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστόξενος . . . Φιλόχορος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ μαντικῆς, Ἀξιόπιστον . . . καὶ τὰς Γνώμας πεποιηκέναι φησίν· ὁμοίως δὲ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος. Suidas *s.v.* Ἐπίχαρμος: ἐδίδαξε δὲ δράματα νβ' (μβ' — Bergk), ὡς δὲ Λύκων φησί, τριακονταπέντε. Anon. *de com.* iii.: σώζεται δὲ αὐτοῦ δράματα μ', ὧν ἀντιλέγονται δ'. The discrepancy may have been in a measure due to the confusion arising out of the existence of double titles for one and the same play (*e.g.* Ἐλπὶς ἢ Πλοῦτος, Ἑορτὰ ἢ Νᾶσοι, Κωμασταὶ ἢ Ἄφαιστος). Omitting the Ἀτάλανται, which is also attributed to Phormis by Athen., the titles of thirty-eight plays have come down to us.

[1] *de Thucyd.* 23.

[2] Suidas *s.v.* Ἀκουσίλαος: τὰ γὰρ Ἀ. νοθεύεται.

[3] Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, xix. (1884), pp. 442 ff.

[4] See also Athen. ii. 70 B: Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν Ἀσίας περιηγήσει, εἰ γνήσιον τοῦ συγγραφέως τὸ βιβλίον.

[5] Other historical pseudepigrapha are, *e.g.* Ps. Callisthenes, Ps. Theopompus Θαυμάσια, Ps. Epimenides Περὶ Ῥόδου.

[6] Athen. xiii. 599 D: οὐκ ἔστι Σαπφοῦς τοῦτο τὸ ἆσμα πάντι που δῆλον.

separate with any degree of confidence the counterfeit imitation from the genuine coin. But whether these imitators intentionally passed off their poems as genuine productions of the more famous authors, or whether their verses were subsequently added to the Theognidian or Anacreontic corpus because of their similarity of treatment and subject-matter, are questions which cannot at this late day be satisfactorily determined. On the whole, I am inclined to believe that the latter cause, just as in the instances discussed below, was largely responsible for the composite character of the extant collections under notice.

In the time of Cicero, speeches of *Alcibiades* and *Pericles* were still in circulation and generally regarded as genuine.[1] Their authenticity is, however, justly denied by Quintilian,[2] and, in fact, the very practice of publishing orations after their delivery did not grow up till later.[3]

A very long list of forgeries is met with in the *philosophical* literature of the Greeks. They seem to owe their existence principally to two causes. The one was a pecuniary inducement, the other a desire to enrich, for purposes of propaganda, the doxographical material of certain philosophical sects, particularly the Neo-Platonic and Neo-Pythagorean, which arose in the third century.

Our authorities for the first of these incentives are two passages in Galen and Ammonius.[4] Pseudepigraphic writings first made their appearance,[5] says Galen, during the time that the kings of Egypt and Pergamum tried to outdo each other in their efforts to increase their libraries, money rewards being offered to those who would secure the works of some ancient writer. In consequence, many supposititious writings were sold. Ammonius is even more explicit. It is reported, says he, that Ptolemæus Philadelphus (or rather

[1] Cic. *de orat.* ii. 22. 93 *antiquissimi fere* (sc. *oratores*) *sunt, quorum quidem scripta constent, Pericles atque Alcibiades; Brut.* 7. 27 *ante Periclem, cuius scripta quaedam feruntur . . . littera nulla est quae . . . oratoris esse videatur.*

[2] iii. 1. 12 *haec autem quae feruntur ab aliis esse composita;* xii. 2. 22 *cuius* (sc. *Periclis*) *eloquentiae, etiam si nulla ad nos monumenta venerunt;* 10. 49 *quosdam nihil posteritati mansurisque mox litteris reliquisse, ut Periclen.*

[3] The reason why orators refrained from publishing their speeches is given by Plat. *Phædr.* 257 D *οἱ μέγιστον δυνάμενοι . . . αἰσχύνονται λόγους τε γράφειν καὶ καταλείπειν συγγράμματα ἑαυτῶν, δόξαν φοβούμενοι τοῦ ἔπειτα χρόνου, μὴ σοφισταὶ καλῶνται.*

[4] Galen *ad Hipp. de nat. hom.* i. 42 (Vol. xv., p. 105 K.); Ammonius to Arist. *Categ.*, p. 10. See also Bentley, *Diss. on Phalaris*, p. 80 ff.

[5] This statement, if taken literally, is of course notoriously false, but the practice may well have first assumed noticeable proportions at that time; it certainly reached its height in the Alexandrian period.

Euergetes), being very anxious to possess the complete works of Aristotle, as, indeed, all books whatsoever, offered pecuniary rewards to all those who would secure for him any treatise of that philosopher. Some, therefore, with the design of getting the promised compensation, put Aristotle's name to other authors' writings.

We have every reason to believe that the supply fully equalled the demand. The demonstrably spurious writings of *Plato* were all probably forged at this time.[1]

Of the esoteric works of *Aristotle* which have alone come down to us, excepting the recently discovered Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, very many, even omitting interpolations, are indisputably apocryphal.[2] The same seems to have been true of a number of the lost Dialogues; at all events, we learn[3] that the Stoic Panætius had demonstrated the spuriousness of the dialogue Περὶ εὐγενείας, which is of particular interest, because this treatise was perhaps the ultimate source of the story of the bigamy of Socrates,[4] a calumny not called into question till the time of Bentley, and finally disposed of by Lusac in his famous dissertation *De bigamia Socratis.*

The interesting subject of *Pseudo-Pythagorean* literature well deserves a comprehensive monograph. A few remarks, however, must suffice in this place. The causes mainly responsible for its existence have been well pointed out by Zeller.[5] The second cen-

[1] *E.g. Epinomis, Minos, Hipparchus, Anterastæ, Theages, Definitions.* The *Midon, Alcyon, Demodocus, Sisyphus, Phœaces, Chelidon, Hebdome, Epimenides, Eryxias, Axiochus* on *Justice,* on *Virtue,* and the second *Alcibiades* were recognized as apocryphal even in antiquity, the last being, rather absurdly, ascribed to Xenophon (Athen. xi. 506 C). To these we ought probably to add the first *Alcibiades,* the *Clitophon,* the *Ion,* and the *Parmenides.* The genuineness of the remaining Dialogues seems to me clearly proved by the amusing contradictory results at which the chorizontic critics of Plato, from Ast down to the modern statisticians, have arrived. On the dialogues ascribed to some of Socrates' alleged pupils, such as Cebes (Πίναξ) Phædon, and Simon, said to have been forged by Pasiphon of Eretria, see Susemihl, *Gesch. der griech. Literat. in der Alexand. Zeit.* i., pp. 20–25. On Ps. Timæus, cf. ibid. ii., p. 337.

[2] *E.g.* Περὶ χρωμάτων, περὶ ἀκουσμάτων, περὶ πνεύματος, περὶ ζῴων κινήσεως, μηχανικὰ προβλήματα, φυσιογνωμικά, περὶ Ξενοφάνους, περὶ Ζήνωνος, περὶ Γοργίου, προβλήματα φυσικά, ζωικά, φυτικά, γεωργικά, θαυμάσια ἀκούσματα, περὶ κόσμου, ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. Cf. Susemihl, i., pp. 155–167.

[3] Athen. xiii. 556 B, Plut. *Arist.* 27.

[4] The same charge had been made by Aristoxenus, Demetrius Phalereus, and Hieronymus of Cardia. The Peripatetics seem to have developed biographical slander into a regular system, for most of the current scandalous characteristics of ancient philosophers may be traced to them.

[5] *Philos. der Griech.* i.[4], pp. 258 ff.

tury before our era witnessed the revival of the alleged doctrines of Pythagoras and his school, the age being peculiarly favourable to the spread of an ethico-religious philosophy. Now, as these doctrines rested entirely upon the supposed *ipse dixit* authority of an individual concerning whom but little historical information was available, the so-called Neo-Pythagoreans found no difficulty in persuading themselves that their own dogmas had also formed part, but still in solution, as it were, of the teaching of the ancient founder of their sect. On the other hand, they were confronted by the unanimous opinion of antiquity[1] that Pythagoras, like Socrates and the Stoic Zeno, never committed his doctrines to writing, it being even more than doubtful whether he communicated his ideas orally to regular disciples, for his philosophy, it would seem, consisted rather of certain ascetic modes of conduct than in formulated tenets of belief. Now, this complete absence of authentic writings from the pen of Pythagoras himself[2] naturally stood in the way of a successful propaganda of the resuscitated philosophy, the more so as the numerous rival sects then in existence were able to point to a perfect galaxy of dogmatic expounders, comprising indeed some of the most brilliant names in Greek literature. Under these circumstances a variety of ingenious devices was resorted to, expressly designed to offset the obnoxious tradition referred to. The following may serve as a characteristic specimen, out of many, of the method employed.

The ancient Ionian philosopher Heraclitus,[3] in a well-known passage preserved by Diogenes,[4] took occasion to speak of the great erudition (πολυμαθία) of Pythagoras. Now into this very passage there were inserted the titles of a number of Pseudo-Pythagorean treatises. This interpolation accomplished its purpose, for the explicit attribution of these works to Pythagoras in so ancient and unimpeachable an authority as Heraclitus, sufficiently counterbalanced the contrary tradition. It legitimized, so to speak, the forgeries there cited, and at the same time opened wide the door for similar frauds, — an opportunity which the Pythagoreans utilized with impunity, the works of Porphyrius, and above all of Iamblichus, giving us a vivid conception of their extent and their character.

On another occasion, the authenticity of the apocryphal writings

[1] Diog. Laert. *Proœm.* 16.

[2] Aristotle never speaks of the doctrines of Pythagoras, but ascribes them vaguely to the Pythagoreans.

[3] Cf. H. Diels, *Archiv für Gesch. d. Philosophie*, iii. 3.

[4] viii. 6.

of one Ocellus, the reputed personal friend of Pythagoras, was triumphantly demonstrated by an apparently casual reference to them in a letter of Archytas which had been forged for this very purpose.

Not a few of the literary frauds were perpetrated during the reign of the Ptolemies and later emanated from the Jews[1] of Alexandria, among whom Aristobulus[2] and the so-called Hecatæus[3] have perhaps acquired the greatest notoriety. It is to these, for instance, that we owe the priceless discovery that a very considerable part of Hellenic wisdom was in reality stolen from the Pentateuch; and in order to prove so astounding an assertion, they cheerfully forged a number of Orphic hymns, attributed a poem of their own composition to Phocylides, and interpolated the works of Hesiod and other epics with choice selections from the Old Testament, while Homer —mirabile dictu— is made to appear as a staunch advocate of a stricter observance of the Sabbath! Yet, notwithstanding the brazen audacity of these forgeries, we find such eminent Church Fathers as Clemens Alexandrinus[4] and Eusebius not only quoting them with approval, but even stoutly maintaining their authenticity.

It is in the department of *epistolary composition*, however, that literary frauds, numerically considered, reach their culmination. For there is scarcely an illustrious personality in Greek literature or history from Themistocles down to Alexander, who was not credited with a more or less extensive correspondence.[5] Such wholesale fabrications were doubtless primarily suggested by the fictitious letters found, *e.g.*, in Herodotus (*e.g.* ii. 40) or Thucydides (i. 128,

[1] Cf. the exhaustive treatment in Susemihl, *op. cit.* ii., pp. 601–656.

[2] Cf. the celebrated treatise of Valckenaer, *Diatribe de Aristobulo*, ed. by Lusac, 1806. Susemihl, ii., pp. 629–634.

[3] See Susemihl, p. 644 f.

[4] Cf. the instructive and interesting treatise of A. Scheck, *de fontibus Clementis Alexandrini*, Progr. Gymn. August. ad Sti. Stephani, 1889, esp. c. iii. (*de adulterinis qui Clementis aetate circumferebantur libris*) and c. vi. (*de spuriis versibus quibus Clemens Graecos unum deum coluisse comprobare vult*).

[5] The subject of Pseudepistolographi, so far as they antedate the Christian era, is treated with his usual erudition by Susemihl, ii., pp. 579–601. Some of the more interesting letters, apart from those briefly discussed above, may be enumerated here: Thales, Periander, Pittacus, Anaximenes, Solon and Pisistratus, Heraclitus (J. Bernay's *Die Heraclitischen Briefe*, 1869), Themistocles, Euripides, Democritus, Socrates, Phædrus (the last five are omitted by Susemihl. See Bentley's *Phalaris*, pp. 527–568), Hippocrates, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Lycurgus, Agesilaus, Speusippus, Philip of Macedon, Alexander, Antipater, Antigonus, etc., etc.

129, 137; vii. 11–15),[1] and were greatly facilitated by the very nature of epistolary composition. For in a letter, artistic unity, cogency of reasoning and rhetorical finish are not prerequisite qualities; an easy abandon, on the contrary, variety and multiplicity of topics, and a greater stylistic freedom in their treatment, constituting some of the characteristics of all confidential communications. The author in this field had therefore a comparatively easy task to accomplish, and his production, whether composed with a view to deception or written as a rhetorical school-exercise, would easily pass critical scrutiny as to its genuineness, if a reasonable amount of care was taken in preserving consistency in the characterization and if his treatment kept within the bounds of biographical accuracy or historical probability. This applies in a measure, *e.g.*, to the extant letters ascribed to Archytas, Speusippus, Isocrates, Plato, and Aristotle, which are not without their advocates even at the present day. But, on closer examination, the vast majority of extant letters, not to say all, are found to give rise to grave suspicions, not to mention that we have good reasons for believing that the very custom of employing letters as the vehicle of confidential and personal communications did not arise till a comparatively late period, its more or less general introduction probably not antedating the time of Aristotle.[2]

Whether the *six* letters of *Aristotle*, which are all that is left to us of a very large collection known to the ancients,[3] are all spurious, as seems most likely,[4] or whether they contain some genuine morsels, as Susemihl[5] is inclined to think, it is certain that their authenticity was never questioned in antiquity, Demetrius, in his treatise on 'Interpretation,' even going so far as to pronounce them the inimitable masterpieces of epistolary composition.

As regards the spuriousness of the letters of *Plato*, thirteen in number, or rather only twelve, as the first purports to be written by Dion to the tyrant Dionysius, the verdict of modern critics is still

[1] Westermann, *de epistol. scriptoribus Græcis*, i., p. 4 f.

[2] Wilamowitz, *Antigonos v. Karystos*, p. 151, note 15: "Die Existenz einzelner gleich für die Publication geschriebener Briefe ist wesentlich von einer Privatcorrespondenz verschieden, wie die aristotelische und epicureische war. Die letztere hat ausser dem Schulkreise wenig zu bedeuten gehabt, somit scheint mir die aristotelische das epochemachende Ereigniss."

[3] Artemon's edition contained eight books (David, *In Arist. Categ.* 24), that of Andronicus no fewer than twenty (Demetrius Περὶ ἑρμην. 231); the special headings in the list of Diogenes, v. 27, foot up an even greater total. But see Susemihl, ii. 580, note 17.

[4] Cf. Stahr, *Aristotelia*, ii. 167 ff.

[5] *L.c.*, note 18.

far from being unanimous. Even Bentley seems not to have questioned their authenticity, for he cites the second as genuine.[1] Others are at least disposed to regard some of them as Platonic, the second, fifth, twelfth, and especially the seventh, the oldest and most interesting, having found the most supporters.

They first appear in the fifth trilogy of the Platonic writings arranged by Aristophanes of Byzantium, and later in the tetralogies of Thrasyllus, and throughout antiquity no breath of scepticism attached to them. The numerous authentic details contained in them seem, indeed, to prove that they were composed at a time when reliable sources of information concerning Plato were still accessible, and the facts of his life had not yet been covered with the ivy growth of myth and anecdote which, at a subsequent period, clustered about the historical personality. On the other hand, however, these letters repeatedly present a very inaccurate and blurred picture of Platonic doctrines; the unknown authors deal for the most part with the most petty trivialities, never once rising above the dead level of mediocrity. The ethical sublimity of Plato, his idealistic conceptions, are wholly wanting. We need but read a Platonic dialogue and one of these letters in close succession to feel the entirely different intellectual atmosphere, which cannot, in my judgment, be wholly attributed to the inherent difference between philosophical and epistolary composition. The style finally, — no mean criterion, — though undoubtedly based upon good Attic models, is altogether devoid of individuality, and lacks that intangible quality of genius which characterizes everything that the great poet-philosopher ever penned.[2]

Finally, I draw attention to one other instance of a literary forgery which is of particular interest, because it furnishes the only example, at least the only one that has come under my observation, of a literary fraud perpetrated from a motive of pure malice, it having been designed to blast the reputation of one of the greatest historians of Greece.

Apropos of a statue in Olympia, erected to *Anaximenes* of Lampsacus, the traveller Pausanias[3] takes occasion to add a few details concerning this man and to give some of the reasons for his being thus honoured. We learn, accordingly, among other things,

[1] *Diss. on Phalaris*, etc., p. 551.

[2] On this whole question, see Karsten, *Commentatio critica de Platonis quæ feruntur epistolæ*, Utrecht, 1864, and Susemihl, ii. pp. 581–584, where also other literature is given.

[3] vi. 18, 2 ff.; reproduced almost verbatim in Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀναξιμένης.

that Anaximenes was the author of a number of historical works, and that he was the inventor of extemporaneous speeches, whatever that may mean. The statue in question had been erected to him by his grateful fellow-citizens, because he had on one occasion saved the town of Lampsacus from destruction at the hands of the enraged Alexander, by a very clever ruse which he practised upon the great Macedonian. After relating the story, Pausanias continues as follows: This same Anaximenes once played an ingenious but very scurvy trick upon his enemy, the historian Theopompus. Being himself a sophist, and skilled in imitating the style of the sophists, he wrote a book,[1] in which he slandered Athens, Sparta, and Thebes; and then counterfeiting to perfection the diction of the historian, he sent the work to these cities under the latter's name, in consequence of which all Hellas was intensely exasperated at Theopompus.

The very existence of this passage is, of course, a clear proof that the apocryphal character of the pamphlet was not unknown to the ancients. Nevertheless it was generally accepted as genuine, for Lucian,[2] Josephus, and Aristides[3] all quote it as a work of Theopompus; and it seems to have suggested to the learned Varro his Menippean Satire (?), entitled Τρικάρηνος,[4] which probably dealt with the first triumvirate.

If we again inquire into the causes that can have made so bold a forgery so successful, two reasons will suggest themselves. In the first place, the genuine writings of Theopompus, according to the unanimous verdict of antiquity, were distinguished by scurrilous invective and vituperation, even Dionysius, who is rather partial to him, being reluctantly forced to admit the acidulous character of his writings.[5] So far, then, the calumnious attack need not have excited suspicion; and if we recall that Anaximenes reproduced the style of Theopompus with singular fidelity, the general belief in the genuineness of the book will cease to be surprising. The really surprising circumstance about it, at least to a modern mind, would seem to be the fact that the style of an ancient author possessed so elastic, and, as it were, so tangible an individuality as to render

[1] The title was either Τρικάρανος (Luc. *Pseudol.* 29) or Τριπολιτικός (Ios. *c. Ap.* i. 24).

[2] *L.c.* τίς οὕτως ἐν λόγοις μεγαλότολμος . . . τὸν δὲ Θεόπομπον ἐπὶ τῷ Τρικαράνῳ κρίνοντα φάναι τριγλώχινι λόγῳ καθηρηκέναι αὐτὸν τὰς προύχούσας πόλεις.

[3] *Encom. Rom.*, p. 211.

[4] Cf. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 9, and *Varronis Sat. Men.*, p. 232 (Riese).

[5] Cf. Polyb. viii. 12; Dionys. *Ep. ad Pomp.* 6. 8; Nepos, *Alc.* 11; Ios. *c. Ap.* i. 24; Plut. *Lys.* 30; *de Herod. malign.* 855; Athen. vi. 254 B; Lucian, *de hist. conscrib.* 59; Clem. Alex. Στρωμ. i. 116; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἔφορος.

exact reproduction possible. But, as has been well said,[1] "we moderns do not regard prose composition as an end in itself, but merely as a convenient vehicle for conveying our ideas, and we are but too apt to judge a writer solely by the worth of *what* he has to say than by the way in which he says it." To the ancient author, however, form and substance stand on a basis of absolute equality; his style and his thoughts are reciprocally co-ordinated. And as a result, all the great prose masterpieces of Greek literature, notwithstanding the impression of spontaneity which they convey, are found on closer inspection to have been rhetorically polished with an incredible care. Thus, Demosthenes, to cite the most familiar instances, scrupulously avoids the concurrence of three short syllables, while Isocrates did not tolerate the clashing of two vowels, except in a few well-defined instances. "The ancients read with their ears, as well as with their eyes"; and hence we are not surprised to see Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian,[2] and others recommending certain metrical feet and rhythmical cadences as particularly effective and praiseworthy in prose composition; while the story told by Cicero,[3] that the orator Carbo on one occasion excited his hearers to a wild pitch of enthusiasm, simply by ending a period with the sonorous word 'comprobavit,' bears eloquent testimony to the keen appreciation for the rhetorical niceties of diction on the part of an ancient audience. In a word, then, the great classical prose writer is an artist, precisely as a sculptor, or an architect, or a musical composer is an artist. Thus it is that the various species of literary composition in the classical tongues are made to conform to distinct, well-recognized types or *genera dicendi*, peculiarly adapted to the thoughts which they are designed to embody, and the numerous systems of rhetoric which to modern notions so often seem but the result of an over-ingenious subtlety of analysis, appear to be directly called forth by the unrivalled flexibility of structure of the Greek language and the rhetorical exigencies of literary prose. It is in this way, then, that I should explain the possibility of exact stylistic reproduction[4] on the part of Anaximenes, no less than the necessity of attempting it, if the literary forgery was to pass itself off successfully as an original work of the author to whom it was ascribed.

[1] Jevons, *Hist. of Greek Lit.*, p. 394.

[2] Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 8; Cic. *Orat.* 57. 91; Quint. ix. 4. 61, 87.

[3] Cic. *Orat.* 53. 214.

[4] The architectural elaboration, moreover, of the prose of Isocrates, whose *pupil* Theopompus was, rendered his diction particularly open to imitation.

But while the works hitherto discussed were supposititious,[1] it would be a serious mistake to imagine that all literary productions found sailing under false colours were similarly the result of fraud.

This is notably not the case with that large class of poems which goes by the name of the *Epic Cycle*, many of which were ascribed to Homer, an opinion quite universally held, always excepting a famous passage in Herodotus,[2] down to the time of Zenodotus, who seems to have been the first to restrict the authorship of Homer to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Thus Pindar, in a fragment preserved by Ælian,[3] quotes the *Cypria* as Homeric; and if it be true that Æschylus pronounced his tragedies to be but so many crumbs from the rich-laden banquet of Homer,[4] a glance at the titles of the seventy-three plays known to us will suffice to prove that he too regarded Homer as the author of more epics than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[5] And the historian Thucydides, as well as the poet Aristophanes, accepted the so-called Homeric Hymns as perfectly genuine.[6] Homer (and the same applies to the didactic and genealogical epic of Hesiod[7]) had in fact come to be looked upon as the unapproachable master of epic song, and thus gradually drew unto himself, like some irresistible magnet, many other epic productions,—a process greatly facilitated by the circumstance that most of these earlier epics, perhaps all, were ἀδέσποτα.

In like manner, the *corpus Hippocrateum* was considerably increased at an early date by the accession of spurious medical treatises.[8]

[1] The following are some of the terms applied to spurious writings: νοθεύειν (cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 389), νόθα, ὡς νόθους παραγράφειν, ἀντιλέγειν, εἰ γνήσιον, οὐκ εἶναι with gen., τὰ εἰς — ἀναφερόμενα, ὁ τὰ εἰς — ἀναφερόμενα ποίησας, ψευδῶς ἐπιγράφειν, ψευδεπίγραφα (ψευδεπιχάρμεια).

[2] ii. 117.

[3] *V. H.* ix. 95 = Pind. *fragm.* 189.

[4] Athen. viii. 347 E τεμάχη τῶν Ὁμήρου μεγάλων δείπνων.

[5] Only a few are directly taken from these, viz. Φρύγες ἢ Ἕκτορος λύτρα, Πηνελόπη, Μέμνων, Κιρκὴ σατυρική.

[6] Thucyd. iii. 104; Arist. *Birds*, v. 575.

[7] Cf. Quint. i. 1. 15 *in qua sententia Hesiodum esse plurimi tradunt qui ante grammaticum Aristophanem fuerunt nam is primus* ὑποθήκας, *in quo libro scriptum hoc invenitur, negavit esse huius poetae* and cf., e.g., Γυναικῶν κατάλογος, Ἠοῖαι, Μεγάλα ἔργα, Μελαμποδία, Θησέως εἰς Ἅιδου κατάβασις, Κήυκος γάμος, Ἐπιθαλάμιον εἰς Πηλέα καὶ Θέτιν, Ἀστρονομικά and others.

[8] Many of these antedate Aristotle, who, though he never quotes Hippocrates, consulted the great physician's writings repeatedly, citations from works which *modern* critics consider *genuine* being, however, significantly rare. See the admirable article of H. Diels, *Ueber die Excerpte von Menon's Iatrika* (*Hermes*, xxviii., pp. 407–435, esp. 429 ff.), where some reasons for the erroneous adscription of current medical works to Hippocrates are also pointed out. Actual forgeries in Hippocrates' name probably belong to the Ptolemaic era.

Anonymity constitutes, in fact, a perpetual source of confusion and error. For innumerable prose treatises and poems, of unknown authorship, if they bore but some resemblance in style or subject-matter to the writings of an illustrious author, easily found their way into a collection of his works, and were subsequently handed down as his own productions. It is to this circumstance that we owe the preservation of some valuable works, which would otherwise have perished.

Thus the fifth Olympic ode of *Pindar* was, according to the ancient scholiast, not composed by the great Bœotian, but as it celebrated not only the same individual, Psaumis, as did the genuine fourth Olympic, but was also written somewhat in Pindar's manner, it was added to the Pindaric collection.

Among the works of *Xenophon* there has been preserved a very able and instructive treatise on the Athenian commonwealth, which possesses the additional distinction of being at once the earliest specimen of Attic prose that has survived, as well as the earliest example of a political pamphlet. The evidence against the reputed authorship of Xenophon is quite overwhelming; but as the historian had written a treatise on the Lacedæmonian state, this little anonymous essay became incorporated in his works as a most suitable pendant.

The play *Rhesus*, attributed to Euripides, possibly furnishes another, final instance—for the list might be indefinitely extended—of a ψευδεπίγραφον due to anonymity. The extant play can never have emanated from the pen of Euripides, as has been generally admitted since the time of G. Hermann.[1] But that the great dramatist did write a play of that name is clear from the ὑπόθεσις. Alexander Ætolus, who, according to Tzetzes, *Proleg. to Arist. Plutus*, catalogued the Greek tragedies for the Alexandrian Library, finding, as we may conjecture, only this play extant, placed it in the Euripidean corpus, identifying it with the original *Rhesus* recorded in Aristotle's Διδασκαλίαι. But Callimachus, in his Πίνακες, or perhaps Aristophanes of Byzantium, the ultimate source of our extant ὑποθέσεις, denied its authenticity, chiefly on the ground of its 'Sophoclean character'; while Crates, contradicting as usual the opinion of Alexandrian scholars, inclined to the demonstrably erroneous belief that it was one of the poet's earliest efforts.[2]

[1] *Opusc.* iii. 262 ff. See now John C. Rolfe in *Harvard Studies*, iv. (1893), p. 97.

[2] The adscription of the *Pirithous* and of the satyric play *Sisyphus* to Critias, though usually counted among the plays of Euripides, the attribution of a poem to both Ibycus and Stesi-

Another and equally fruitful source of perplexity is found in the existence of so many writers of the *same name.* Thus some twenty authors of the name of Dionysius and of Ptolemæus are known to us, not to mention numerous Heraclides, Apollodori, Apollonii, Alexandri, Demetrii, Diodori, etc., etc. To bring some light into existing chaos, one Demetrius Magnes, a contemporary of Cicero, wrote a book entitled Περὶ τῶν συνωνύμων ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων. It is quoted frequently by later writers, such as Plutarch and Athenæus, and especially by Diogenes Laertius, who made most abundant use of this work, though possibly only at second hand. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has preserved to us almost verbatim the chapter on Dinarchus, which, though it gives us only a tolerably fair conception of his method, makes us keenly feel the irreparable loss we have suffered.

Of the innumerable instances in which *homonymity* was directly responsible for erroneous adscriptions, the following may suffice by way of illustration. A number of works are in our sources attributed to Heraclides Ponticus, though probably composed by Heraclides Lembos. In the same way the valuable treatise "On Interpretation" was ascribed to Demetrius Phalereus, whereas it was written by a much later and less illustrious namesake. Some of the apocryphal speeches of Isocrates were the work of his pupil Isocrates of Apollonia;[1] and we learn that Cæcilius himself was disposed to attribute the so-called Delian oration, which had come down under the name Æschines to a contemporary, but less illustrious, namesake.[2]

Pseudonymity is practically unknown in the literary history of Greece, but this need not surprise us in a people who, in Horace's phrase, were "praeter laudem nullius avari," and whose authors, as Cicero facetiously puts it, never failed to attach their names to their own works, even when writing "de gloria contemnenda."[3]

The only genuine instance of a pseudonym which I am able to adduce is *Themistogenes* of Syracuse,[4] whom Xenophon mentions as the author of his own Anabasis, and he appears as such in Suidas.

chorus, and many similar confusions, are in my judgment also due to anonymity.

[1] Zosim. *Vita Isoc.*, p. 258.

[2] Cf. Phot. *Cod.* 61, 20 a, 9 ff.; Susemihl, ii., p. 449, note 3.

[3] Hor. *A. P.* 324; Cic. *pro Arch.* 11. 26, *Tusc. Disp.* i. 15, 34.

[4] Cf. *Hell.* iii. 1, 2; Plut. *de glor. Athen.* 1; Tzetzes, *Chil.* vii. 930. See also the excellent discussion of Xenophon's motives for thus concealing his identity, in Felix Dürrbach's *L'Apologie de Xenophon dans l'Anabase* in *Revue des Études grecques*, No. 23 (1893), pp. 343 ff.

The case of the poet *Aristophanes* is perhaps not quite analogous. For, although his three earliest plays were brought upon the stage in the name of Philonides[1] and of Callistratus,[2] while two of his latest were presented, so to speak, by the old poet as a gift to his son Ararus,[3] to insure his favourable reception by the public, the name of the real author was unquestionably an open secret, even if we admit that Aristophanes' name did not appear in the *Didascalia*, for otherwise a famous passage in the *Clouds* would have been unintelligible to his hearers.[4]

If any reliance could be placed upon a curious passage in Quintilian,[5] concerning certain orations of Menander which went by the name of Charisius, we might possibly recognize in this still another example of a pseudonym. Unfortunately, however, the statement itself seems questionable, to say the least.

There remains one other class of undoubtedly apocryphal writings whose existence can neither be accounted for on the assumption of a literary forgery, nor justly attributed to any of the causes so far dealt with. I refer to the large number of ψευδεπίγραφα in the collections of the great Attic orators.

Thus, there were extant in the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Cæcilius, 60 orations of Antiphon, of which Cæcilius rejected 25; of 425 of Lysias, only 233 were accepted as genuine; of 64 speeches of Isæus, 14 were pronounced spurious; among the 60 speeches of Isocrates, Cæcilius regarded 28, Dionysius, 25, as apocryphal. Of 77 of Hyperides, 52 were accepted as from his pen. Of the 71 orations of Demosthenes known to us, Cæcilius admitted 65 as authentic. We still possess 60 speeches, but many of an extremely doubtful character are among them.[6] Besides these, we also have 56 proœmia to public orations, which are unquestionably suppositious.

Now it cannot, of course, be denied that a goodly number of these speeches were designedly fathered upon these orators.[7] But the vast majority undoubtedly owe their existence to another cause.

[1] Δαιταλῆς (427 B.C.).

[2] *Babylonians* (426) and *Acharnians* (425).

[3] *Aiolosikon* and *Kokalos*.

[4] *Clouds*, vss. 528–535.

[5] x. 1. 70 *Nec nihil profecto viderunt, qui orationes quae Charisi nomini addicuntur a Menandro scriptas putant.*

[6] See the list in A. Schäfer, *Demosthenes u. seine Zeit*, Vol. iii. 2, 316; Fr. Blass, *Griech. Beredsamkeit*, Vol. iii.

[7] A few indisputable instances of such literary forgeries still extant must again suffice: Andocides, Κατὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου; Demosthenes' Ἐπιτάφιος (see the works cited in previous note). Of

The Post-Aristotelian epoch witnessed the development all over the Greek-speaking world of schools of rhetoric whose purpose it was to give to students an oratorical education. With a view to the attainment of this end, their pupils were called upon to compose fictitious speeches based upon the models left by the great Attic orators, the subjects being usually propounded in some such form as the following: "Given a certain case, how would Antiphon, or Lysias, or Isocrates have treated it? Given such and such circumstances, how would Hyperides, or Æschines, or Demosthenes have spoken?" As a result, an immense number of such *μελέται*, as they are styled in Greek, or *suasoriae*, by the Romans, were produced, which in many instances, if skilfully composed, might easily have passed as the genuine compositions of the authors upon whom they were confessedly modelled, although they were, of course, not originally written with any such fraudulent design. Indeed, one cannot well conceive of any motive for counterfeiting, *e.g.*, numerous orations of Lysias, seeing that more than 200 genuine speeches had been preserved. How, then, are we to account for the 192 spurious orations found by Dionysius and Cæcilius in the collection of Lysias' works? This perplexing problem is most plausibly solved by the assumption that the booksellers of antiquity were largely responsible for the phenomenon in question.

These men seem not to have enjoyed a very high reputation for honesty. At all events, Aristotle,[1] among others, informs us that the *βιβλιοπῶλαι* of Athens industriously circulated a number of *δικανικοὶ λόγοι* of Isocrates which were unquestionably spurious; for we have it on the unimpeachable testimony of Aphareus, the orator's stepson, that Isocrates had confined himself to the *συμβουλευτικὸν* and *ἐπιδεικτικὸν γένος*. It may, therefore, be supposed that some unscrupulous Athenian bookseller collected as many speeches of Isocrates and Lysias, *e.g.*, as he could secure; and as his editions would thus be far more complete than any others then in the market, he would be enabled to sell them at good prices to some of the many wealthy bibliomaniacs who, according to Theophrastus, resided in Athens in his day.

Demades nothing was extant in Cicero's time (cf. *Brut.* 9. 36 *cuius nulla extant scripta*, and also Quint. xii. 10, 49). The fourteen orations enumerated in the *cod. Laurent.* lvi. 1, of which one *ὑπὲρ τῆς δωδεκαετίας* has come down in fragments, must therefore be a late forgery, probably of the third century A.D. Of the spurious speeches of Pericles and Alcibiades mention has already been made.

[1] Apud Dionys. *de Isoc.* 8.

Some of the numerous rhetorical treatises known to the ancients and partly preserved to us, such as the τέχνη of Isocrates, and the ῥητορική πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, to mention only these, may possibly have been designedly attributed to illustrious names, but in these instances also, it is at least equally likely that the writers themselves were not guilty of any fraud, but that error or design on the part of others is responsible for the deceptive label which was attached to them.

The foregoing discussion is, of course, far from being exhaustive, and many other examples of literary fraud, perpetrated within the period to which I confined myself, have been designedly omitted, partly because they seemed of no intrinsic interest, partly because they could not be dismissed in a few words. But, sensible as I am of the many shortcomings to be found in these pages, their object will have been attained, if I have succeeded in drawing attention to an interesting phase of literary history, the existence of which is apt to be overlooked amid the splendid originality and spontaneous development so typical of Hellenic genius.

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Henotheism in the Rig-Veda.

HENOTHEISM, or Kathenotheism, is a word invented several years ago by F. Max Müller to describe a phase of Vedic religion. Admitting that even in the Vedic age polytheism was the prevailing belief, Müller endeavoured to establish for the earlier of the two periods into which he divides the "age of the Rig-Veda," the existence of a new religion, one that, while it was neither polytheism nor monotheism, should yet contain elements characteristic of both. Since Müller holds to an original monotheism in India, — anterior to the recorded theology of the Rig-Veda, — henotheism to him is a forward step in the religious progress of the Hindu mind. He thinks that the Vedic people, having passed from a belief in one god to a belief in many, with a constant inclination to "relapse" into the purer belief, kept the spirit of monotheism under the form of polytheism.[1]

A strange development! That a people should keep the spirit of polytheism under the form of monotheism is natural enough, and historical examples are not lacking; but that the religious evolution should ever have been in the opposite direction is wellnigh incredible. Moreover, the assumption of an aboriginal monotheism in India is entirely unsupported by facts. Not only from the first records of Hindu thought, but from the aid furnished by a study of comparative religions in the Aryan family, we can confidently predicate polytheism and not monotheism as the religious belief that must have obtained among the Hindus both before and after their entrance into the Punjab. If, therefore, henotheism, as a phase of religion, were a fact that could be established, we should still be obliged to regard it not as a step from monotheism to polytheism, but as the first beginnings of a *quasi*-monotheism.

What, however, is henotheism, and by what signs is it distinguishable from polytheism? According to Müller's definition, polytheism is "a worship of many deities . . . under the control of one supreme

[1] *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 559; *Chips*, i. p. 28.

god," while henotheism is a worship of "single gods," where each deity is represented "as independent of all the rest, as the only deity present in the mind of the worshipper at the time of his worship and prayer."[1]

In Whitney's critique of this theory (see last note) weight is laid chiefly upon two factors in it, and the objections are made first that "no religion brings its gods into more frequent and varied juxtaposition and combination," and secondly that, in regard to the ascription of attributes which might seem to belong to a sole god, such praise is only "natural exaggeration, committed in the fervour of devotion." As Whitney cites no passages from the Rig-Veda and goes no further into the matter, the object of the present paper is first to inquire into the reality of the phenomena of henotheism, and then to seek for the cause of the phenomena if they shall be found to exist. In regard to the phenomena: Neither Müller nor Whitney appears to be quite right or wrong in what they say on this subject. Whitney is certainly right in asserting that the Vedic deities are not represented "as independent of all the rest," and he might have called attention to the fact that not only in juxtaposition and combination, but even in absolute dependence several of the deities, and those of the mightiest, are emphatically said to be submissive to the decrees of other gods, who are consistently represented as their law-givers. And Whitney is right again in ascribing to Oriental exaggeration, rather than to sober theology, much of the laudation that seems to Müller to indicate "henotheism." On the other hand, although it may be questioned whether the difference is sufficient to make requisite a new term in theology, Müller is unquestionably right in saying that there is a distinction between the polytheism of Hellas and such polytheism of the Rig-Veda as he calls henotheism. This distinction is only to a certain extent definable. The most striking and distinct mark is the fact that in India even the pair of law-giving gods, upon whom the mightiest gods are said to be dependent, do not occupy a position uniformly Jovian. There is no constant head to the Hindu pantheon. But there is an indefinable difference, besides, or rather one that is not to be defined with a word, although it is even more remarkable than the preceding. It is the difference that is to be marked in the eulogies; not

[1] Max Müller, *Science of Religion*, second lecture, p. 52; and *Origin and Growth of Religion*, sixth lecture; *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 526, 532 *sq.* Critique of this theory by Whitney, *Proceed. Am. Or. Soc.*, Oct., 1881.

only in the style of laudations, which as compared with that of Greece may be accounted for as a matter of taste rather than of creed, but also in the implied basis of those laudations, in the theological conception of the men that uttered them. And herein, in admitting that the laudatory expressions represent a theological difference, the present writer is rather inclined to agree with Müller; yet neither for the reasons which he himself has urged, nor for discontent with the obvious objections advanced by Whitney. The laudatory remarks in the hymns are in great measure to be explained by exaggeration, but this will not answer for all of them. On the other hand, the absence of a constant regal head, on which Müller lays so much stress, is rather a climatic than a theological matter; and suggests at the same time another obvious point of difference between Greece and India, on which, oddly enough, neither Müller nor Whitney appears to have touched. The Hindu gods, like the Greek, were anthropomorphic, but they differ much from the Greek gods in perpetually varying between their anthropomorphic and natural forms. In general, it may be said that the anthropomorphism of the Hindu deities is far more unstable than that of the Greek. The Vedic religion as a whole stands much nearer to pure nature worship. We may add to this, or regard as causative of this, the tremendous natural phenomena, as spiritual powers of which the Hindu gods were representative, phenomena unknown in like degree or duration in Greece. When the hot season began and the land withered, when day after day and week after week only one god was apparent, when on earth as in heaven there seemed to be only one terrible Power, at such a time head and chief of divinities was the Sun-god. What wonder that all praise and blame were ascribed to him then, that then all other deities faded from the mind? But when the monsoon broke loose, when not, as in the Occident, flash after flash, but sheet after sheet of flame, filled air and sky, until from horizon to zenith all appeared to be one ocean of lightning; when for days the "black clouds bellowed like bulls," and the roar of thunder was unintermitted, — then Indra, the Storm-god, seemed indeed to be the lord of all beings, "the sole (god) who had made heaven and earth."

In how far such inspiration of fear or admiration causes in the excitement of devotion the expression of a belief that would have been repudiated in a strictly theological discussion, we can scarcely say, but we may rightly set against it, as does Whitney, the perpetual invocation of gods in pairs, triads, and pluralities; the native

proneness to flattery; and such companion pieces from classic Greek as—

ὦ κρατύνων Ζεῦ, πάντ' ἀνάσσων,

said of the usual chief; but again, of a Power no less a natural force than is Indra: —

Σὺμπάντων δὲ
Βασιληίδα τιμάν, Κύπρι,
Τῶνδε μόνα κρατύνεις.

— Soph. *Œd. T.* 904; Eur. *Hippol.* 1280.

where, in almost the same words, to Aphrodite is ascribed the power ordinarily accredited to Zeus, and "henotheism" appears in the midst of an undoubted polytheism.

But of India, no more than of Greece, can it be asserted without modification that here in the mind of the worshipper there was "only one deity present." The poet cries indeed, "O Indra, there is no one greater or better than thou," but he adds, "all the gods together conquer thee not" (*R. V.* iv. 30. 1, 3). We naturally expect in any religion that when a poet undertakes to laud a god he will confine himself for the most part to extolling that god alone, and we should be more surprised to hear him glorifying the rivals of his chosen god than to discover that he limits his laudation to its proper object. We must find, then, some very striking example of particularization and limitation before we account it indicative of a novel theology. Indeed, from the premises of henotheism, we have a right to expect that we shall find not only universal and particular sovereignty, but unique divinity ascribed to some deity; and that, if henotheism means a religion where the deity lauded at any one time is represented "as the only deity present in the mind," there will be some objective proof of it. A verbal critique, to begin with, may thus be instituted. The question arises, whether there are passages among the many in which the expression "sole god" is used that imply a belief in a sole divinity? The writer has collected all the specimens that have any bearing on this point, and will sum them up briefly, as is made necessary by the limitations of this paper.

We find often, in regard to the gods, such statements as that in *R. V.* i. 32. 12, *devá ékas* (*djayo gắs*), which we have of course to translate not "Thou, the only god," etc., but "Thou wast the only god that didst conquer the cattle"; which, from the Hindu point of view, is not even extravagant laudation, but a simple statement of

the fact, clear enough to any observer, that Indra alone brought the rain. The statements, "Thou alone didst slay the demon" and "Thou wast the only god that didst watch over the waters," with other phrases of like form, have then no especial significance. Nearer to the henotheistic idea comes the expression, "Thou, Indra, art the only king of all beings," which, however, is scarcely more than "the only hero," *i.e.* not the sole god, but the chief power before the worshipper's mind and eyes. "Indra alone has wealth," it is said. "He alone helps"; "he alone is irresistible." But is this unpolytheistic? Is this a new religion?[1]

Neither Indra nor Agni belongs, like Dyaus (Zeus) and Varuna (Ouranos), to the most primitive gods. It is, therefore, of especial interest to see that verbally the nearest approach to henotheism — the more primitive religion of the Rig-Veda, according to Müller — is not found in the case of the earliest, but of the later, gods. For Agni, in distinction from Sūrya, the Sun-god, is comparatively a late god, being the sacrificial fire. Indra is said, indeed, to be "alone worshipped," but it would be rendering the Vedic tone falsely were we to translate *R. V.* vi. 34. 2; 22. 1, with "He is the one god worshipped." Indra is here chief, not single, as in *ib.* vii. 23. 5: *éko devatrâ dáyase hi mártān*, "Thou alone pitiest mortals *amongst the gods*" (compare i. 131. 2 and x. 27. 16). Indra is unique. That is the only meaning in such phrases (compare i. 176. 2 = vi. 22. 1, *yá ékas*, "who is unique among living things"). Indra, lauding himself, says that he is the sole god, but this is the self-praise that the Hindu expects of his warrior-god; and, if it be regarded as illustrative of henotheism, we must notice that in the same breath Indra declares not only that another god, the fashioner or artisan-god, made his bolt for him, but also that, although he is "sole lord over this one" (universe), nevertheless he, "a god, injures not the law of the gods" (*R. V.* x. 48. 7, 3, 11; with "this one" as universe compare *ib.* 129. 2, 3). Another fine bit of henotheism has been cited above: "Thou, Indra, alone hast made all things in their order," but we find the immediate correction in the neighbouring statement that all his strength was given him by another god (i. 52.

[1] Compare for these quotations and parallel passages: *R. V.* i. 33. 4; x. 104. 9; viii. 37. 4; iv. 30. 5; iii. 30. 4, 11; v. 30. 4; viii. 17. 15; x. 48. 7; i. 165. 3, 10; x. 138. 6; vii. 19. 1; viii. 24. 19; 62 (51). 2; iv. 17. 5, 9; vi. 18. 2; iii. 46. 2; vi. 17. 8; 18. 3; 36. 4; 45. 16; iii. 51. 4; viii. 13. 9; 15. 3, 11; 16. 8; 37. 3; x. 103. 1; vi. 45. 20; iv. 32. 7; vi. 30. 1; vii. 26. 4; viii. 2. 4, 31; 6. 41; i. 7. 9; 84. 7; viii. 14. 1; 100 (89). 5; i. 100. 7.

7, 12–14). As Alcestis is *μόνα γυναικῶν* to her husband (vs. 460), as *μόνος θεῶν* and *μονώτατος* in Greece, so in India, without infringement of a polytheistic attitude, is *éka* (*aíka*, *οἶος*) used of a popular divinity. Henotheism of this sort is to be found on Grecian soil as well as in India. In a general comparison, parallel to specimens of Rig-Vedic henotheism may be set the Homeric Hymns xxix., xxx., xiv.; Soph. *Antigone*, 338; *Philoctetes*, 393, etc.

Turning now to the god who, next to Indra, best illustrates henotheism, Agni is "the wise one, the greatest of all gods," "the only ruler of wealth," but, as before, if this be henotheism, note the context, "Agni alone, *like Varuna*, is lord of wealth."[1]

So of Savitar, the Sun, mighty as he is, there are superior lords, recognized as such even in the hymn that extols him as one in whom alone is all vital energy (i. 71. 9; v. 81. 1, 4, 5; in viii. 25. 16 the sun is the subject). Again, in the case of inferior deities, the All-maker and Vishnu (no great god in the Rig-Veda), the attribution of oneness is always so limited that it has theologically little force; the *devá ékas* (*deus unus*) is not really thought of as a sole god even for a moment; and there is, strictly speaking, from the side of phraseology, none of that transient monotheism which, if henotheism means anything theologically, should be found.[2]

The "lord of beings" is said to be the "only lord and king," yet this is no more than "leader-king," for in the same passage he is *yó devéshv ádhi devá éka ásīt*, "who was over gods the one, *i.e.* chief god" (x. 121. 1, 3, 8; ix. 86. 45). To deduce henotheism on the strength of this use of "one god" from the Hymns is as if one were to deduce henopotamism from the statement: "The Sarasvatī is reckoned the one river," where follows the explanation of the *one*, "in flowing pure from the mountains to the sea" (*R. V.* vii. 95. 2; x. 75. 1).

Whitney touches briefly on the use of "sole," saying that no god is called "sole god." This is, strictly speaking, quite true. "I am the sole lord over this universe" and "thou alone hast made everything," is the nearest approach (till the *A. V.*) to calling a god "sole god," except as modified by ("sole god," *i.e.* the chief god) "over the gods." And the addition to the first clause of "What can two or three (*i.e.* gods) do (against me)" is conclusive that no monotheism

[1] On Agni, in connection with henotheism, compare iii. 1. 10; 3. 11; i. 68. 2; 143. 4; 145. 3; viii. 39. 10; x. 5. 1; 91. 3: He is the "only child," the "only calf," the one with the Sun, iii. 1. 6; i. 96. 5 (iii. 55. 6, 11–12); *Vāl.* 10. 2; x. 114. 4.

[2] *R. V.* iii. 56. 2; x. 81. 3; 82. 2–3.

is intended (x. 48. 7). Yet, since the expression *devá ékas, deus unus*, not infrequently occurs, we should perhaps rather say that no god is called sole without such modifications as deprive the expression of monotheistic force.

It is time, however, to leave this verbal criticism, and to turn to the cause of the phenomena of henotheism. The absence of a permanent chief of the pantheon has been explained above. No explicit statement has been found that authorizes us to assume a temporary belief in any deity as an only deity. There remains the character of the laudations, the apparent fulsomeness of which is partially to be explained as a matter of taste. Not wholly. If we examine with care the religion of the Rig-Veda, we see that there was from the beginning, permeating the whole collection, a popular chrematheism.[1] In evidence stand certain hymns addressed, not to natural forces, but to inanimate and material objects. Prayers are made to the mountains; hymns to the plough and to the press-stones; arms and weapons are invoked in song. As portions of this divine material world, ethereal objects were also felt to be divine; and, as the spiritual power behind material rose into prominence, the moving forces and elements, whether visible or not, were regarded as personal Powers. Now it is the expressed belief of the Rig-Veda not only that there is but one spirituality in all the gods, but that everything is one. It is impossible to say how far back reaches this philosophical side of growing pantheism. Certain it is, that forces which originally were thought to be distinct, are formally stated in the hymns to be identical Powers under different names. Thus we have first of all the triad identity of the sun-fire with the lightning-fire, and this again with the sacrificial fire. And so Indra, who is the spirit behind the lightning, is identified with the sun. This syncretizing of various divinities is far-reaching and in connection with the effort at unifying local cults (so plainly apparent in the first prose literature, where we find the formal statement that he who is called Indra in one place is the same with him who is called Agni in another) offers us at once the cause and real meaning of much that seems but hyperbolic praise. The powers originally ascribed to one god were transferred, when he was identified with another, to that other god. The second god grew greater by absorption of divine

[1] From *chrema*, thing, especially a useful thing. The author does not intend to introduce a new name. He has chosen this term for convenience' sake, to indicate a religion as far removed from fetichism as it is from polytheism. It was probably an important factor in the later pantheism.

forces originally not characteristic of his own personality. So, as the sun is the All-seer and Maker, and as Indra is one with the sun, Indra himself in viii. 98 (87). 2, is called the All-maker. But this is not all. Instead of developing from monotheism, the Hindu religion, originating in a vulgar chrematheism and formal polytheism, from the feeling that anything was divine, tended toward pantheism and toward a vague belief in one divinity, — a belief never wholly achieved even in philosophy, — but finding its final expression in the idea of one sole cause of gods, human creatures, and matter. The effect of syncretic polytheism was to embellish any god with the attribute of many, till the idea of one chief divinity under many names became familiar; "great is the one spirituality of the gods" is the constant refrain of one hymn (iii. 55; compare x. 55. 4; i. 31. 5, *ékāyus*). In *Vāl.* 10. 2, it is said: "Agni, though various, is but one, and the sun is but one"; and again it is said: "They call by many names that which is but one" (i. 164. 46). Hence it follows that, not knowing how far back this syncretic tendency extends, but seeing that the trend toward a philosophical interpretation of the gods as one is thoroughly Vedic and is supported or begun by a primitive chrematheistic theology, we cannot dogmatically assert either that the extraordinary nature of the laudations is a relapse into monotheism, or that they are simply the result of Oriental extravagance. The extravagance is rather the result of a growing belief in the unity of the gods, to each one of whom were respectively ascribed, as to a type of the undefined divine, attributes that in a more simple polytheism, like that of the Greeks, were kept apart and distributed amongst more individual personalities. As has been said above, it is most important to remember that the nearest approach to treating any one of the pantheon as a sole god is found in the case of the popular gods, who are the first to be affected by the syncretizing influence. Much has been said in admiration of the hymns to Varuna, and he is indeed an early god, and his praises are the most exalted in the Rig-Veda; yet it is to be observed that in the very oldest part of the Rig-Veda, his praise is either sung in conjunction with one other god (as for example in vi. 67), or in a lower key, in conjunction with other gods (as in ii. 28). But the one hymn wherein Varuna appears to be lauded in a manner which invites comparison with the praise given by monotheists — here he sits aloft upon a golden throne and governs the course of the stars, being the lord of heaven and of earth — is not early, but late, as is certainly shown by the allusion to the year divided into twelve months

with a thirteenth intercalated month added.[1] And even here, Varuna is recognized as the son of the personified abstraction called Aditi, who is worshipped as a goddess. The most that can be said of Varuna as represented in this late hymn (i. 25), is that he comes nearest to being that "supreme god" of the Hindu pantheon, whose existence as a controlling power is denied by Müller. Moreover, the Sanskrit scholar does not need to be reminded that there are other passages in the Rig-Veda where Indra is set in contrast to Varuna, and is declared to be his equal if not his superior.

Polytheism with an accompaniment of half-acknowledged chrematheism passed first into the belief that several divinities were ultimately and essentially but one, which may be described as homoiotheism. The poets of the Rig-Veda were unquestionably esoterically unitarians to a much greater extent and in an earlier period than has generally been acknowledged. We shall, indeed, not be far wrong perhaps, if we consider every hymn of the Rig-Veda to have been composed under the influence of that unification of deities and tendency to a *quasi*-monotheism, which eventually results in philosophical pantheism and in the recognition at the same time of a personal first cause. To express the difference between Hellenic polytheism and the polytheism of the Rig-Veda, the latter should be called, if by any new term, rather by a name like pantheistic polytheism than by the somewhat misleading word henotheism. For what is novel in it is that it represents the fading of pure polytheism and the engrafting, upon a polytheistic stock, of a speculative homoousian tendency soon to bud out as philosophic pantheism. Every Vedic poet is more or less a Xenophanes. There is then a difference between the religions of Greece and India, but it is a difference to be seen neither in the absence of a parallel to Zeus, nor in the ascription of unique divinity to any one god on occasion. The latter distinction does not exist; the former is a superficial accident due to climatic conditions. The real difference lies in the universal amalgamation of polytheism with the new pantheism, the latter being half felt and vaguely (if not timidly) expressed. The Rig-Veda is not naïve. It is theosophic throughout. Yet the terms of a worn-out belief are kept in its profoundest speculation, and they still obtain, even when pantheism is no longer a suggestion, but a creed.

EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS.

BRYN MAWR, January, 1894.

[1] See the writer's paper on *Holy Numbers in the Rig-Veda*, where is discussed the Indo-Semitic duodecimal system.

On Plato and the Attic Comedy.

THE great fifth century before our era, as it entered in, had raised Athens to the very summit of its glory; but, as the century waned, it brought that fair city down to the lowest valleys of dejection. The earlier splendour of its Persian victories, its leagues, its islands, and its revenues were gone. The Spartans, so long invincible on land, had now destroyed the Athenian supremacy even by sea. But still, the evils of the fraternal strife between these cities did not stay their hand. Civil war had destroyed the national unity of Greece. Its corroding influence had been at work at the roots of local government, and seemed to threaten even the family itself.

When it was seen that the Peloponnesian war was to result unfavourably for Athens, the numerous professional thinkers in that town set themselves to find a remedy for their troubles. Feeling that theirs was a *fin de siècle* period, they naturally wished to devise some plan that would win acceptance at the birth of the new era. Æschylus was antecedent to this new current of thought, and Sophocles seemed disinclined to use new means for the regeneration of his townsmen; but not so Euripides. Aristophanes was considerably affected by the new tendency, as his branch of literature lay closer to the heart of the people. Even in the far less sensitive art of sculpture, Cephisodotus shows the new lines of movement. Aristophanes, in fact, lived in both periods and represented each side. The *Clouds* show him opposing the tendencies of change. In them he urges a return to the past by putting off the sophistry and foppish manners which the philosophers seemed to be teaching young Athenians to wear. Conservatism was, indeed, to win some signal triumphs before the free thought and scientific spirit of the fourth century could enter. Anaxagoras was exiled, and later the death penalty was inflicted upon Socrates, as though to warn others from too radical methods of inquiry. When the coryphæus of the philosophers had thus entered into martyrdom, his followers were scattered and went on their several travels. Aristippus and Euclides founded their schools away from Athens, and did not return.

Plato, on coming back, showed himself more conservative and constructive than his master; and thus drew closer to the earlier aims of Aristophanes. Both wished for the military discipline and warlike spirit of their ancestry, guided by an intelligence that could handle with enlightenment the questions of the fifth century. Is it not Lycurgus, rather than Plato, who recommends in the dialogue of the *Republic* a life-service in arms for the guardians of the state? Certainly the discipline there was to be quite as strict as the Spartan. In the *Laws* Plato becomes still more a laconizer. He even ferries Socrates over to that Dorian of Dorian islands, Crete. Xenophon also went over to the enemy and served Sparta's ally, Persia; he even saw in that land and in its hero king, Cyrus, the vision of his perfect state and statesman. Plato, on the other hand, found much to admire in Egypt; and so these traitorous philosophers discovered in the strangest lands customs to prefer to those of their mother city.

The disastrous wars of the end of the fifth century seem to have awakened another subject, — the woman-question. Possibly never asleep, it now seems to have attained a new strength by this trend of the philosophic mind towards Sparta. In Doric countries the women seem to have had more rights accorded them than at Athens; or, as is more probable, they asserted them with greater success than did their Athenian sisters. A woman voiced the oracles of the Dorian god. Diotima, a native of Arcadia, is claimed by the Platonic Socrates as his instructor in all that related to the grandest motives of the human soul. It was but a natural consequence, in countries where the men were so often away at war, that the women should come to share a wider responsibility. It has been, for instance, repeatedly noticed that during the Homeric age the women seemed more capable than they were in the organized and settled classic period. Yet there were exceptions, even in this time, whenever war disturbed the balance of order. The opportunity which such a disastrous expedition as that to Sicily gave them could be easily improved by those who stayed at home to perfect themselves in statecraft and in self-reliance.

In Euripides the woman-question seems just emerging from the horizon. Aristophanes is much more interested in it, especially in his later comedies; and Plato, at least in the *Republic*, discusses it yet more seriously than either of the others. Each, however, treated it in his own characteristic way. The women had advised and assisted so well during this time of misfortune, that the thought that they might be gathered into assemblies or armed, and so made into

statesmen or soldiers, naturally seemed floating in the air. Aristophanes seized on one phase of it for his Women's Congress or *Ecclesiazusæ;* and Plato wove another part into his *Republic,* in giving there the same duties to the women guardians as to the men.

The much-discussed relation of these two works to each other is therefore probably this: Both are an outcome of the same state of restless thinking and love for reconstruction that was then prevalent among the Athenians. Each writer has used thoughts that were drifting fatherless in the community, and appropriated them in his own manner. The *Ecclesiazusæ,* in agreement with the opinion of Zeller, Susemihl, Benn, and others, is not a parody on the *Republic.* Aristophanes, as we see from the *Symposium,* was on too friendly terms with Plato to devote one of his comedies to making fun of Plato's ideal city. Yet the *Ecclesiazusæ,* like all his other plays, was to make biting fun of something; of this much let us be easily assured. The *Republic* could hardly have become famous enough in so short a time after its appearance for the Athenian public to enjoy a parody upon it, without its author being mentioned. No more than two years, at the utmost (Teichmüller, *Lit. Fehd.,* i. 24), intervened between the publication of the *Republic* and the play of Aristophanes. The latter author was, also, considerably older than Plato, and would hesitate to win applause by making travesty of the work of a younger man. He had honoured his seniors, Æschylus and Euripides, by dedicating a comedy to them. The laws of literary etiquette must prevent him from thus recognizing his junior.

So often as the question has been discussed, whether the *Ecclesiazusæ* is a parody on the *Republic,* so often has authority far preponderated on the negative side. Naturally, a very tempting thought it must always be to Platonic scholars that their master's great work was heralded to public notice by the veteran critic, Aristophanes. Authors like Bergk, Meineke, and Spengel in their day adopted this view. At present Teichmüller and Chiappelli can only effect a direct connection between the two works by depressing the play to 390 B.C., the latest of the various dates assigned to it, and, at the same time, assuming an extremely early date for the *Republic.*

As comedy slowly turned away from discussing politics and went over to literary and social criticism, the age of the Middle and New Comedy was begun. And now the light crest of its laughter broke often on the exoteric truths of Platonism, and dashed against the walls of the Academy. One of the younger contemporaries of Aristophanes, belonging partly to the Old and partly to the Middle

Comedy, was Theopompus. He seems to have exhibited as late as 373 B.C. In the few fragments that remain of his plays we seem to discover the first instances of a direct parody of Plato's *Republic*.

The title of one of these comedies was the Στρατιώτιδες or Soldier-girls. Apart from any connection with Plato, it can be easily imagined what interest would be aroused when such a play was called and such a chorus marched out into the orchestra. Soldier-girls were what Greece had never seen, and just what Plato had invented. To a traveller entering the streets of the Platonic city, they would be, perhaps, the most noticeable of its external features. Plato seems to have feared more than anything else that the φυλακίδες of his state might be misunderstood. He devoted the fifth book of the *Republic* to describing them anew and explaining the γυναικεῖον δρᾶμα, that seemed so strange to its hearers when it first was told. In the *Ecclesiazusæ*, which deals with civil life, the chorus was one to which there was nothing parallel in the *Republic*. For in this dialogue the civil assembly, if it was ever contemplated, is certainly not described. On the other hand, in the Στρατιώτιδες we have a chorus that might be made directly out of the *Republic*.

Soldier-girls, of course, required a leader, an ἐπιστάτης or, so to speak, a chaperone. They were going to quench their thirst like any Spartan soldier — not by sipping, but full and deep. One of them says in a line,[1] preserved by chance from this play: —

πίοιμι τὸν τράχηλον ἀνακεκλασμένη.

In short, some resolute woman was needed to take charge of them; and, if such a character also could be borrowed from Plato's *Republic*, it would be most suitable. Yet, though he scrutinize it never so closely, Theopompus would not be able to find any women characters whatsoever in the *Republic*. He seems, therefore, to have had recourse to another device. In default of women, it would appear that he contented himself by choosing instead one of the male characters, Thrasymachus. The name had a mock-heroic sound, as if it were Balderdash. Then he could easily imagine a wife, and, on the principle that man and wife are one, give her the same characteristics that her husband possessed. In all Plato's writings Thrasymachus was the man unique and without peer for ferocity. Characterized as the "wild beast," the "lion," the "giant of Chalcedon," Thrasymachus could roar and storm about the rights of power till his

[1] Kock (*Frag. Com. Att. Theopomp.* 54) explains the line as an indignant denial, and thus effectually destroys any fun there might have lurked in it.

audience cowered down before him, and his mighty personality ruled them. In brief, then, by the use of these conjectures we are enabled to explain why a Thrasymachus is mentioned in another stray fragment of the Στρατιώτιδες (Kock, fr. 56). The line in question, which is probably addressed to the chorus, reads: —

ἡ Θρασυμάχου δ' ὑμῶν γυνὴ καλῶς ἐπιστατήσει.

The line was preserved by a grammarian quoting it as an instance of usage. It gains, however, quite a new interest for us, if it can be connected with Plato's fearless sophist. Consequently, if this theory be deserving of confidence, it is not the real, the historic Thrasymachus of Chalcedon who is made fun of in this stray verse, but the character of Thrasymachus as depicted in Plato's *Republic*.

Heretofore two other opinions have always prevailed, each of them different from this. One theory maintained that this was (1) the historic Thrasymachus of Chalcedon. So thought Meineke (*Com. Græc.*, ii. 813) and Bergk (*Com. Att. Rel.* 82). On the other side it is held that this Thrasymachus is (2) a person not otherwise known to us. Such is the view of C. F. Hermann (*Göttingen program*, 1848, p. 5), of Teuffel (Pauly's *Real-Encyc.*, art. "*Thrasymachus*"), and before them of Vater (Jahn's *Jahrb.*, ix. 172). At the present time Kock (i. 748) holds much the same opinion and Blass implies it (*Att. Bereds.*, i. 241) in the words: "Darnach fällt denn die Blütezeit des Thrasymachos in die letzten Decennien des fünften Jahrhunderts; dass er später noch gelebt habe, können wir wenigstens aus nichts entnehmen." Those scholars who took the second view were evidently the more sober and discreet of the two classes. They put prominently before themselves the question of dates, when they denied the identity of the two men. Our new hypothesis rests in this respect on the same basis as that on which the Vater-Hermann party stand. Like them it finds its support in considerations of chronology. In establishing this point its first step is to leave aside the indefinite and sometimes contradictory statements of Cicero, Quintilian, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that Thrasymachus was the contemporary of such and such a man. There then remains but one question to be decided. It is this. Can the orator Thrasymachus, who is mentioned in Aristophanes' play, the Δαιταλῆς (produced in 428 B.C.), be still before the public at the time when the Στρατιώτιδες of Theopompus was acted, some forty or more years afterward? Could one man, and he an alien, have been prominent enough during all those years of stir and change to deserve public

notice in comedies produced at periods so far apart? Thrasymachus is thought by C. F. Hermann, who has studied his career more carefully than any one else, to have been born about 457. His arrival in Athens would then fall about 432. He was thus fully a generation older than Plato, and so could hardly have advanced as a personal rival of the Academy.

He would, however, be just the right age either for a real discussion with Socrates, or for Plato to set him forth in an imaginary combat with that same philosopher. The comedians of the period succeeding Aristophanes, *i.e.* the contemporaries of Plato, could not know of Thrasymachus in his prime except by hearsay. In similar manner, to judge by the few instances where they mention him, the historic Socrates had been quite forgotten by them. They seem to know best the Aristophanic Socrates. The comedians studied the men of the past in those pages where they had been best travestied. For Socrates, this was naturally the *Clouds;* for Thrasymachus, the *Republic.* In later centuries even serious prose writers went to such sources for their information. Gorgias and Protagoras, and the other sophists, received their character from the vivid but one-sided descriptions of them left by Plato. Probably Cicero knows Thrasymachus best, just as Aristides the Orator, Themistius, and Maximus Tyrius know him exclusively from the distorted picture drawn of him in book i. of the *Republic.* The audience who listened to the Soldier-girls was in somewhat the same situation. Even they would know Thrasymachus better from Plato's famous description of him than from personal acquaintance with the man himself.

It may seem strange that the public should appreciate the fun in such a purely literary take-off. A parody on Æschylus or Euripides would be nothing so difficult to understand, for their plays had been acted before this audience in the same theatre; but information in regard to Plato's *Republic* could only be gained by reading or discussion. We must be prepared, however, to give almost unlimited credit to the keenness with which new books were devoured by this small and cultured Athenian public. Few in numbers and at leisure, as theatre-goers necessarily are, their keenness in pursuit of novelties was marvellous, their love of caricature extreme.

In support of this view, let us examine another literary criticism. It is also from a play of Theopompus; but this time it is a fragment of the Καπήλιδες (Kock, fr. 24): —

> Λεωτροφίδης ὁ τρίμνεως Λεοντίῳ
> εὔχρως τε φαίνεται χαρίεις θ' ὥσπερ νεκρός.

Although the text is not sure, the general drift is that a certain worthless poet of that day looked fair and charming as a corpse did to Leontius. Now it has long been noticed that this Leontius is mentioned again in the *Republic* (439 E). A strange adventure was his. He was going up from the Piræus, so the dialogue tells us, along the North Wall. At the place of public execution there came upon his view the remains of some criminals who had paid the death penalty. His Greek horror of bloodshed and of the hideousness of death caused him to close his eyes, but his human curiosity led him to open them again. In the language of Plato's psychology, his ἐπιθυμητικόν overcame his θυμοειδές.

It must excite wonder in every reader that Plato should base a general principle on such a special case. Indeed, it is altogether comic to find a man of thoroughly ephemeral and local interest thus held up as an illustration of general truth, and as one in whose mental struggles we are all to see a reflection of our own. Possibly, Plato had some reason for mentioning the locality. The anecdote was perhaps suggested to Socrates that very morning when he came down to the Piræus by the Long Walls and saw the place. There may be this justification locally. Leontius himself, Aglæon's son, however, personally must remain imbedded in that knot of commonplace obscurity from which neither ancient scholiast nor modern commentator has been able to dislodge him. Uninteresting and unknown, he is to us a sort of Peter Bell in Platonic literature.[1] Probably he was the same in antiquity. Although his name seems known to the little group of speakers in the *Republic*, his marvellous adventure could hardly have been matter enough of town talk for a comedian to turn it to use in a comparison. The only alternative left, therefore, is to conclude that Theopompus, when he speaks of this Leontius, is making a direct parody of the passage in the *Republic*.

[1] Plato's dignity rarely allows him to take us down in this way to the homespun and bourgeois. In a very few instances only does he thus become amusing *invito se*. A case is perhaps found in *Gorgias*, 471 C. The usurping tyrant throws the rightful heir of Thessaly's throne into a cistern and drowns him. Then he tells the boy's mother, with what must have been a serio-comic air, that her son had fallen in *while chasing a goose*.

Plato is as free as Shakespeare from allusions to his neighbours and from the petty quarrels of his day and generation. How greatly Goethe could sin against this artistic canon is shown by the Walpurgisnachtstraum in *Faust*. With Dante, more perhaps than with anyone else, contemporaries occupy the foreground; but with him they are ennobled by the grandeur of the scenery against which they are brought into relief.

From the former, and now from this latter instance, where Theopompus has travestied the *Republic*, we can understand how much noise the dialogue made in Athens at its first appearance. Theopompus was evidently the popular champion, when it came to shivering lances against the newcomer. Fainter traces of his literary warfare against Plato may also be detected by careful scrutiny. They are in another play of Theopompus, the Ἡδυχάρης, of about 384 B.C. Here he makes fun of the *Phœdo* (96 E) in the words (Kock, fr. 15):—

ἓν γάρ ἐστιν οὐδὲ ἕν
τὰ δὲ δύο μόλις ἕν ἐστιν, ὥς φησιν Πλάτων.

This is the only fragment of Theopompus that mentions Plato by name; Meineke (i. 240), therefore, has conjectured that the whole play was perhaps devoted to making fun of the philosopher. Teichmüller (*Lit. Fehden*, ii. 198) goes a step further in finding proof of this. The lines (Kock, fr. 13),—

καὶ στῆτ' ἐφεξῆς κεστρέων νῆστις χορός
λαχάνοισιν ὥσπερ χῆνες ἐξενισμένοι,

seem to him to refer to the scholars of the Academy, and to prove that they lived on vegetable food. Teichmüller also holds that this play was aimed at the *Phœdo* and *Symposium*. Yet we look in vain for a passage relating to dietetics in either of these dialogues. It is rather in *Republic*, 372 ff., that Plato's views of the proper foods are given. Here vegetarians are to have a βιὸν ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ ὑγιείας. In contrast with them the τρυφῶσα πόλις will be ever in need of physicians (373 D).

We turn from Theopompus for a momentary glance at one or two other comedians. In a line from Ephippus (Kock, fr. 14),

τῶν ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας τις ὑπὸ Πλάτωνα τῶν
Βρυσωνοθρασυμαχειολῃψικερμάτων,

we have Plato's name and with it those of Bryso and Thrasymachus. The former is in his Academy. The two others are charged with taking fees for instruction or advising others to do so. Possibly the meaning is not quite clear because the line may need emending. We can safely assume, however, that it refers to the Thrasymachus of the first book of the *Republic*. Especially would this be true if our previous argument, that Theopompus was dependent on literary sources when he speaks of Thrasymachus, is a valid one.

Ephippus must be even more dependent on literary sources, as he comes considerably later than Theopompus. One at least of his plays belongs after the year 335 B.C., and he is distinctly in the period of the New Comedy. Thus, like other readers, the playwrights were mostly acquainted with the first few chapters of the *Republic*. The rest they "skimmed." Such parts of the Platonic philosophy as relate to Plato's idea of the good, and to his still abstruser physics, remained to the comedians a book sealed seven times.

The later comedians, as the fragments of their plays gathered into the pages of Meineke and Kock would show, did not parody any particular dialogue or passage of Plato. Ophelio is perhaps as definite a parodist as any. He must have known of the existence of Plato's written works, for he flavours a cordial taken before meals to sharpen the appetite with pepper, frankincense, and a stupid book of Plato (Kock, fr. 3). Another comedian, Amphis, strikes no deeper into the essence of Platonism than to complain that Plato was always twisting and wrinkling up his face, like a snail shell (Kock, fr. 13). Thus as comedy became more superficial in criticism, less reformatory in function, social, amusing, harmless, it spent itself more and more on the externals of Plato and his school.

From the foregoing considerations, we see that it was Theopompus whose arrow struck closest to the heart of Platonism. In his *Stratiotides*, the title itself of the play suggests the most peculiar institution of the *Republic;* and one of the fragments mentions the name of the fierce antagonist of Socrates. In his *Capelides*, we have found Theopompus making fun of an obscure and unknown Leontius of the *Republic*. In the *Hedychares*, he travesties certain thoughts which are outlined in the *Republic*, although not fully developed there.

These traces of parody, curiously enough, all refer to the first four, or at most five, books of the *Republic*. Set beside this another consideration, namely, the tradition preserved by Aulus Gellius (xiv. 3) that the first two books were published separately. Combining these two statements, we can come to the conclusion already arrived at by the internal tests of style and subject matter, but now reached by an outer path, as it were, — that parts of the *Republic* were written at various periods and bound into their present form only at a final recension. Like Faust, the great work grew gradually. Krohn suggests that the order of growth for the books of the

Republic was i.–iv., viii., ix., v., x., vi., vii. Be that as it may for the later ones, it seems of the utmost probability from our present considerations that the first four books, at least, were published before the others. After these came book v. in reply to criticisms directed at the earlier four. Consequently, the waves of comic laughter, so dreaded by Socrates in the fifth book, would seem to have been set in motion by Theopompus. Possibly the *Stratiotides* intervened between books iv. and v., and incited Plato to the production of the latter.

Plato seems thus to have found it necessary to publish, as it were, advance sheets of his great constructive work. This must have been because of some unusual emergency; and what other occasion called for more effort than the founding of his Academy? The thoughts that had taken shape during and after his journey gave him the material and self-reliance necessary for the founding of his school. For the system which he had now worked out, independently of Socrates, he craved an audience. A programme was, however, required to precede the formation of his school. This was not the *Phædrus* as assumed by C. F. Hermann (*Gesch. u. System*, i. 514) and Susemihl (*Gen. Entw.*, i. 286), for this dialogue does not contain enough constructive thought to attract a student following. Still less, for the same reason, could it have been the *Symposium*, as has been recently urged by L. von Sybel. Rather the programme was the first four books of the *Republic*. In them he seeks for a new justice, and in defining it vanquishes a mighty teacher of the previous generation. In them he utters the founder's address of his as yet unrealized Academy. In those first four books he describes and heralds this, his new City of Promise. In book v. he defends it from attacks of comedy, then dignifies, justifies it in heaven and in the soul, mourns for it, and despairs of it in the remaining pages of his State.

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In the article *Herodotus* VII. 61, *or Ancient Persian Armour*, the following additions and corrections reached the printer's hands accidentally too late for incorporation in the plate copy.

a. Addenda.

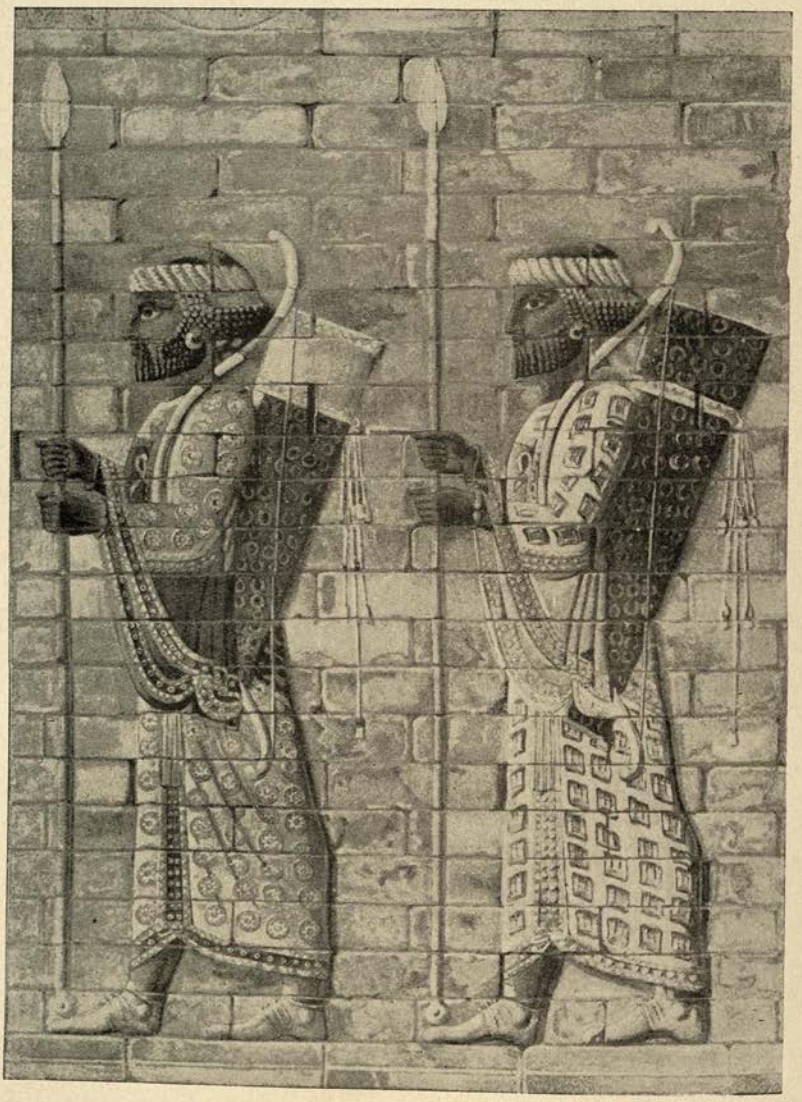
The new readings of the Avesta edition by Professor K. F. Geldner have been just received, having been kindly sent in advance through his courtesy. The variations to Vd. XIV. 9 on p. 102 are

rathoishti	*zaēnāush*
thanvarə	*thrisās* (not as compound)
pukhdha	*rānapō*

These readings should be noted for pp. 102, 114, 115, 119, 120, 121–25.

b. Corrigenda.

p. 96, l. 13, for *αὐτην* read *αὐτὴν*
p. 96, l. 14, " *εἶθχον* " *εἶχον*
p. 96, l. 27, " they " some
p. 96, l. 34, " *ποικιλους* read *ποικίλους*
p. 97, l. 6, " *καλαμινους* " *καλαμίνους*
p. 97, l. 31, " and Susa " at Susa
p. 97, note 1, " *Artantique* " *Art antique*
p. 99, l. 10, " *rānapāna*, " *rānapō*
p. 99, l. 12, " *ἄσπις* " *ἀσπίς*
p. 102, l. 20 seq., see Addenda above
p. 116, l. 6, for *bitaeghanām* read *bitaēghanām*
p. 112, l. 9, " *gaoyaoiloish* " *-tōish*
p. 113, l. 12, " *huthakhlat* " *-tat*
p. 114, l. 5 seq., see Addenda above
p. 115, l. 11, for *πεπληγμένησι* read *πεπλεγ-*
p. 119, l. 32 seq., for *rānapānō* read *rānapō*
p. 125, l. 8, for *ψελια* read *ψέλια*
p. 125, l. 20, add *zaēnāush* (see Addenda)
p. 125, l. 40, fill in reference 000 by 120
p. 125, l. 43, " " " " " 122



THE DIEULAFOY FRIEZE OF ARCHERS FROM SUSA.

Herodotus VII. 61, or the Arms of the Ancient Persians illustrated from Iranian Sources.

'Such was the very armour he had on.' — *Hamlet.*

A STUDY of ancient armour is of interest not alone to the antiquarian, but it is instructive also to the historian, and the development of the arms of a warlike people forms part of a chapter in its national history. It is on this account that records of the past are often searched for information, and allusions in early writers are examined in order to gain new light. It is seldom that a foreigner is qualified to speak with authority on the military equipment of a country, but when that speaker is the keen observer Herodotus, it is worth while to listen. What the Father of History tells about the customs of the ancient Persians in the first book of his great work has been shown, when compared with native authorities, to be generally correct, and what he has to say (vii. 61) on the weapons of the Persian soldiers in the vast army of Xerxes is characterized by the same general accuracy. This passage in his history (vii. 61) describing the equipment of the Persian forces is a familiar one, and has often been commented on, so that there is no need of treating it from the classical standpoint; but it may be of interest to view the topic from the standpoint of Iranian antiquity, and to place in condensed form at the disposal of the classicist the most important material from direct Iranian sources bearing on the subject.

The purpose of the present monograph, therefore, is to summarize the main results already arrived at with reference to the description which Herodotus gives of the Persian armour, and then to test the passage in the light of standards drawn from Iranian literature, the Avesta, Old Persian Inscriptions, Pahlavi Books, and later Persian writings, as well as from some non-Iranian sources, and also from the monuments and rock-sculptures of Iran itself.

A. PERSIAN ARMS IN HERODOTUS AND ON THE IRANIAN MONUMENTS.

If we accept the text of Stein, who assumes a lacuna after the word ποικίλους, the passage in Herodotus, vii. 61, runs as follows: —

Οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι οἵδε ἦσαν, Πέρσαι μὲν ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι. περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον τιήρας καλεομένους πίλους ἀπαγέας, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους, . . . λεπίδος σιδηρέης ὄψιν ἰχθυοειδέος, περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα· ὑπὸ δὲ φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο· αἰχμὰς δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τόξα δὲ μεγάλα, ὀϊστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνους, πρὸς δὲ ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρεύμενα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης.

See also vii. 84. Ἱππεύει δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα· πλὴν οὐ πάντα παρείχετο ἵππον, ἀλλὰ τοσάδε μοῦνα, Πέρσαι μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτῶν· πλὴν ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶθχον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν καὶ χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα ἐξεληλαμένα ποιήματα.

This passage may be freely rendered thus: 'Among those who took part in the expedition were the Persians, and they were equipped as follows: About their heads they had the soft hat called tiara, and sleeved tunics of diverse colours were worn upon the body, [with breastplates] of iron scales like fish-scales. They had trousers on their legs, and in place of the usual Greek shield the Persians carried targes, and their quivers were hung underneath. They had short spears and bows, with arrows of reed. At the right hip a dagger was suspended from the girdle.'

'84. The Persian cavalry were equipped in just the same manner as the infantry, except that on their heads they wore an arrangement wrought of brass and steel.'

It will be noticed that in this description of the equipment the dress and armour are first given, and then the weapons or arms. For convenience, the list may be presented in tabular form.

1. *Dress or Armour.*

a. Tiara, soft hat = τιήρας, πίλους ἀπαγέας.
b. Sleeved parti-coloured tunics = κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους.
c. Trousers = ἀναξυρίδας.

2. *Weapons or Arms.*

d. Shields = γέρρα.
e. Quivers = φαρετρεῶνες.
f. Spears (short) = αἰχμὰς βραχέας.
g. Bows (large) = τόξα μεγάλα.
h. Arrows (of reed) = ὀϊστοὺς καλαμινους.
i. Dagger = ἐγχειρίδιον.

Turning from the Greek text to the Ancient Persian monuments, the passage may be illustrated from the rock-sculptures of Behistan and Persepolis, even without resorting to the literature. The figures and the plate used in the present paper are reproduced from Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, tome v., and from Rawlinson, *Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions at Behistun*, in the tenth volume of the Royal Asiatic Society. The following figures have been chosen as illustrations: —

Plate (P. & C.), opp. p. 868, Dieulafoy's Archers of Susa.
Fig. I. (P. & C.), 472, p. 798, Persepolis bas-relief.
Fig. II. (P. & C.), 483, p. 821, Persepolis guards.
Fig. III. (Rawlinson), Behistan body-guards of Darius.

The famous Dieulafoy frieze of archers at Susa, as shown in the full-page plate, is a recent discovery[1] and is of special importance in throwing light on the subject under discussion, especially with reference to the question of colour, since the bricks or tiles of which the archer-frieze is made are beautifully coloured.

A comparison may now be made between the statements of Herodotus and the evidence afforded us by the monuments.[2]

a. The soft hat or tiara which Herodotus mentions is easily recognized in Fig. I., where the contrast between it and the stiff or upright (ὀρθός) mitre is marked. It differs again from the simple head-band or fillet worn, for instance, by the Dieulafoy archers on the frieze from the palace of Darius and Susa (see PLATE).

b. The allusion of Herodotus to the parti-coloured sleeved tunics (κιθῶνας) becomes clear from a glance at the archer-frieze (see PLATE). The epithet ποικίλους applies aptly to the robes or tunics of these spearmen. Their dress is described[3] as 'golden yellow

[1] Consult Dieulafoy, *L' Artantique de la Perse*, Paris, 1884–89.

[2] Consult also Stolze and Andreas, *Persepolis*, 1882.

[3] Madame Jane Dieulafoy, *Excavations at Susa*, in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, No. 445, p. 19, New York, June, 1887.

embroidered with blue and green daisies; others have a white ground, and bear on a black escutcheon a picture of the citadel of Susa; sometimes the robes are white and covered with flowers and stars set off by a black background; the shirt is black or yellow; the boots gold or blue. The archers are crowned with a green tor-

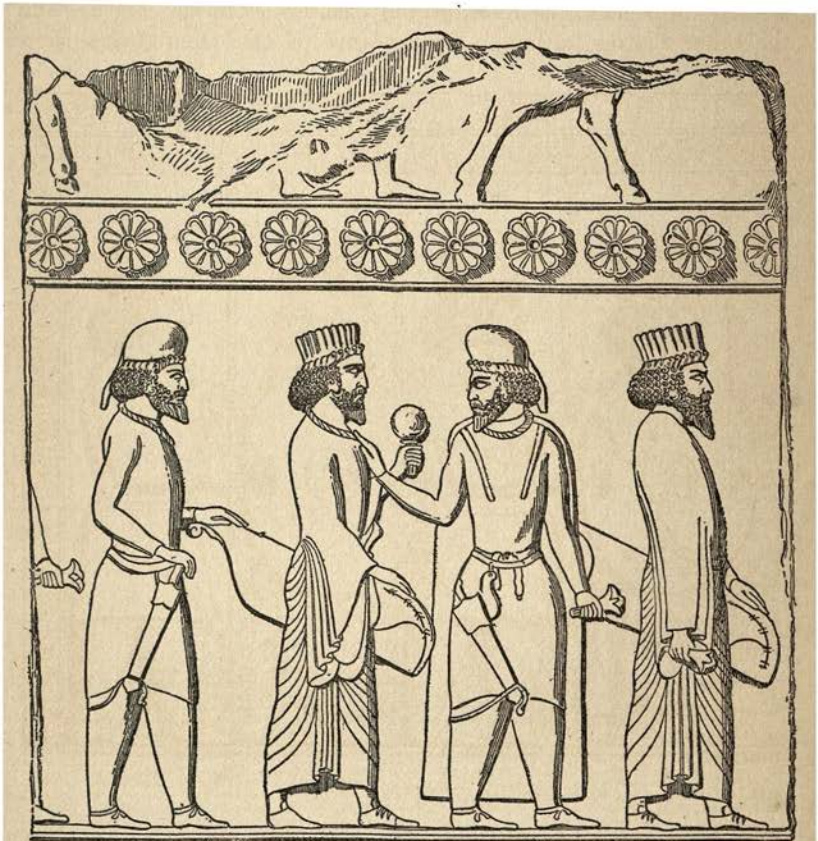


Fig. I.—Persepolis Bas-relief.

sade, and bedecked with gold ear-rings and bracelets.' This description would evidently apply appropriately to the Persian dresses in Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 5. 8 τοὺς πορφυροῦς κάνδυς . . . τοὺς πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας. The long sleeves (χειριδωτοὺς), moreover, are conspicuous in all the sculptures, as shown by the PLATE and the figures. Herodotus, therefore, is correct enough in these particular details.

c. With reference to the trousers (ἀναξυρίδας), there can be no doubt from Hdt. i. 71, iii. 87, v. 49, vii. 61, Xen. *Anab.* i. 5. 8, Strabo xv. 3. 19 (cited by Perrot and Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art*, v. p. 799, note) that the breeches or trousers formed a special part of the characteristically Median and Persian dress. Large pantaloons appear also in the Persepolitan sculptures; see, for example, Fig II. and the other figures, although in the case of the Dieulafoy archer-

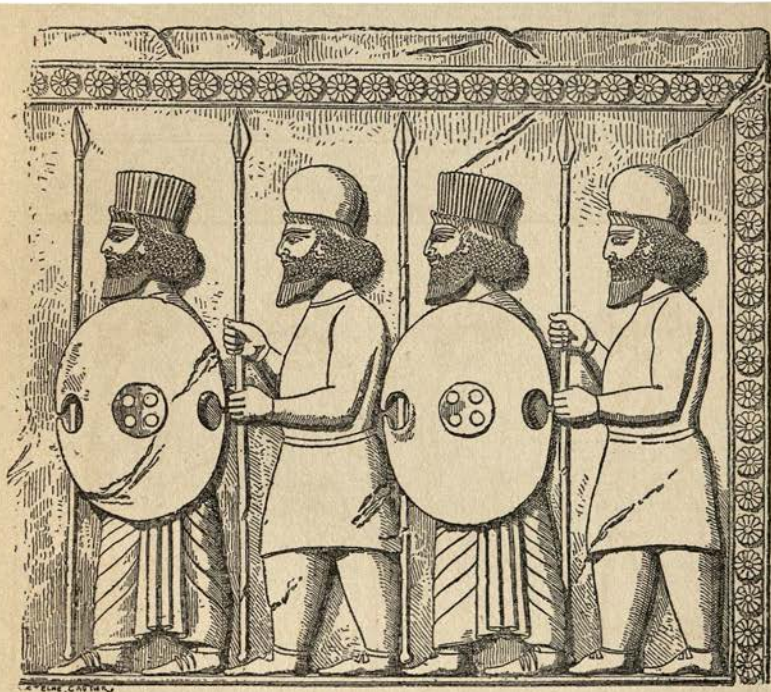


Fig. II.—Persepolis Guards.

frieze from Susa (see PLATE) the trousers are not to be noticed. Further discussion of this subject will follow when the Avestan word *rānapāna* is taken up.

d. The shield (γέρρον) which Herodotus contrasts with the Greek ἄσπις is also mentioned as typically Persian; see Hdt. ix. 61, 62, 99, Xenophon *Cyr.* vii. 1. 17. This article of defence is not mentioned in the special paragraph of the Avesta (Vd. xiv. 9) devoted to the armour of the warrior, and is wanting also in several of the sculptures; for example, in the Dieulafoy frieze. The omission, however,

is probably due to the particular class of warrior delineated, as the shield is mentioned elsewhere in the Avesta and in other old Iranian works, and the buckler is conspicuous in the case of the Persepolis guards represented in Fig. II. For further new material on the γέρρον, see Appendix II. below.

e. The large quiver (φαρετρεών) is prominent in the figures of the Dieulafoy archers (see PLATE) and in the case of the sculptures on the Behistan rock (see Fig. III. below). In both these instances the quiver is suspended from the back. In Fig. I., however (see p. 98), the quiver, judging from its shape, evidently serves also as a bow-holder, and is hung low by the warrior's side. This, perhaps, is the explanation of Herodotus's use of ὑπὸ in the phrase ὑπὸ δὲ φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο. The quiver, merely as arrow-holder, is alluded to in Æschylus *Persæ* 1001–3 ὀϊστοδέγμονα . . . θησαυρὸν βελέεσιν. Allusion to the quiver will again be made below.

f. The spear or lance (αἰχμή) is the next weapon in the list of Herodotus. It is to be seen in all the Persian monuments and is constantly referred to in all Iranian writings. Whether Herodotus rightly terms the Persian spears 'short' (βραχέας) is a question whose answer is a relative one, depending of course on the Greek point of view.

g. The bow (τόξον) appears in most of the sculptures and monuments, and is naturally mentioned as an important weapon in Iranian as in other ancient writers. On the monuments the bow is usually represented as strung and as suspended at the left shoulder (see Fig. III. and the PLATE). The possibility that the bow was occasionally carried in a specially prepared quiver (see Fig. I.) has been mentioned above. The epithet μεγάλα, which Herodotus applies to the Persian bows, seems rather to characterize the stoutness than the length of the bow.

h. The arrows (ὀϊστοί) are naturally mentioned again and again in connection with the bow. Herodotus says that the Persian arrows were made of reed (καλαμίνους); in the Iranian writings there seems to be no mention of the material from which the shaft is made, but the weighting and tipping of the arrow is described. In the Avesta (Vd. xiv. 9) the number of darts carried in the quiver is thirty (see below).

i. The short sword or dagger (ἐγχειρίδιον) which hangs from the girdle may easily be recognized in the figures (see Figs. I., II.). Herodotus draws special attention to the fact that the sword was worn at the right side (δεξιός), in opposition to the custom of the

Greeks (see Merriam, *Herodotus*, p. 309, note). The sculptures of the rock monuments support the accuracy of the historian's testimony on this point. The ἐγχειρίδιον is the *karəta-* of the Avesta, which is discussed below.

j. The girdle or belt — ζώνη of Herodotus — appears also in the Avestan description of armour, and is often alluded to in Iranian

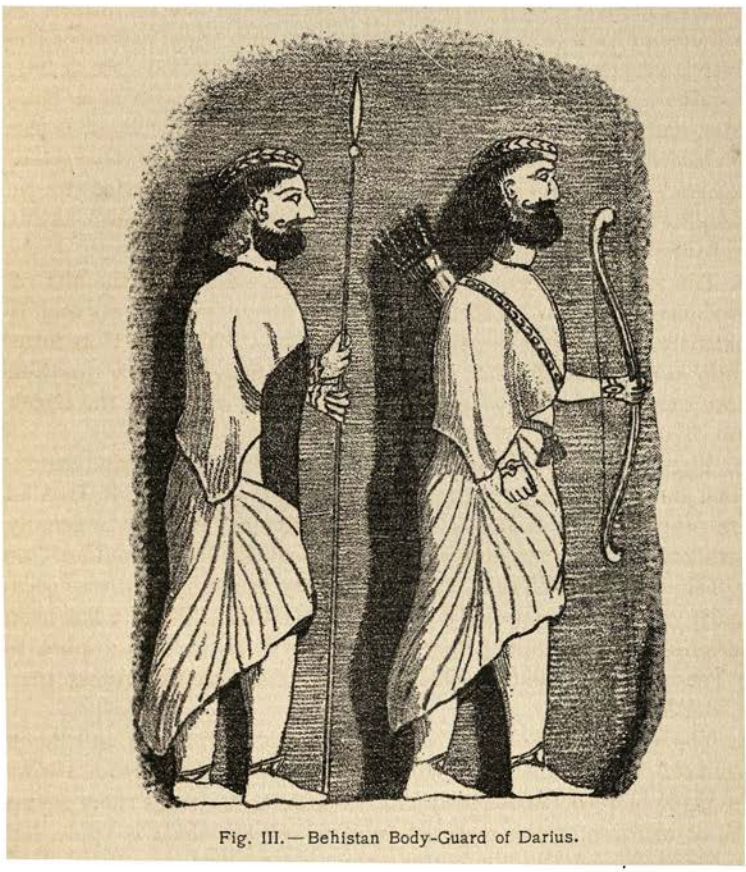


Fig. III. — Behistan Body-Guard of Darius.

literature. A glance at Fig. I. will show the form of the girdle and the manner in which it was worn. Consult also the figure in Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, v. p. 843.

In concluding this part of the subject it may with justice be said that although there are one or two pieces of armour or articles of equipment which Herodotus does not mention, the omissions are

unimportant, and his statements on the whole show a fair agreement with the actual Persian sculptures that have been preserved. His statements may next be tested in the light of old Iranian literature, and for the sake of comparison the second part of this monograph will be devoted to passages in Iranian works which allude to or describe the equipment of the Persian warrior.

B. PERSIAN ARMOUR IN IRANIAN AND OTHER ORIENTAL WRITINGS.

Passing now from the stone monuments to the monuments of literature as a source for the study of ancient Persian arms, we may take up the Avesta and the Pahlavi books as furnishing additional and direct information on the subject. In this it is well to begin with the most ancient work, the Avesta of Zoroaster.

a. From the Avesta.

Foremost among the Avestan passages in which arms and armour are alluded to, is the well-known paragraph in the Vendidad (xiv. 8–11) in which the insignia of the priest, the implements of the husbandman, and the weapons of the warrior are enumerated and described. The military equipment is as follows: —

Vd. xiv. 9[1] *Yaēshām zayanām rathoishte: paoiryō arshtish, bityō karətō, thrityō vazrō, tūirya thanvara, pukhdhəm zainish maṭ akana maṭ thrisās-ayō-aghrāish, khshtvī fradakhshana snāvarə-bāzura maṭ thrisās-fradakhshainyāish, haptathō zrādhō, ashtəmō kūiris, nāumō paiti-dānō, dasəmō sāravārō, aēvañdasō kamara, dvadasō rānapānō.*

This may be rendered: 'Among the weapons of the warrior are, first, a spear; second, a sword; third, a mace; fourth, a bow; fifth, a *zainish* with quiver, which contains thirty iron-pointed arrows; sixth, a sling, with arm-thong and with thirty sling-stones; seventh, a cuirass; eighth, a hauberk(?); ninth, a tunic; tenth, a casque; eleventh, a girdle; twelfth, leg-guards.'

There are also a number of other passages in the Avesta which throw light on the arms of the Persians. The most important are here given.

Vd. xvii. 10 *tāo srvāo pascaēta būn măzainyanām daēvanām arshtayasca karətayasca thanvarəca ishavasca ərəzifyō-parəna asnaca fradakhshainya.*

[1] The present transcription is adopted merely for convenience.

'The parings of the finger-nails (if not properly buried) become the spears, swords, bow and falcon-feathered arrows, and sling-stones of the Demons of Mazanderān.'

Yasht i. 18–19 *nōiṭ dim nara aiṅhe ayān nōiṭ aiṅhāo khshapō aēshmō-drūtahe drukhshmanaṅhō avasyāṭ nōiṭ akavō nōiṭ cakavō nōiṭ ishavō nōiṭ karəta nōiṭ vazra nōiṭ vīsəñte asānō avasyāṭ,*

vīsāstaca imāo nāmānīsh
parshtasca pairivārasca
vīsənte.

'Neither on that day nor on that night shall the weapons of a furiously assaulting enemy wound that man, nor shall knives[1] nor quoit-disks,[1] arrows nor swords, nor shall mace nor sling-stones reach and wound him.

'But these names (of God) recited
Become his breastplate and his back-shield.'

The Mithra Yasht (Yt. x.) of the Avesta, devoted to the divinity of light, truth, and the sun, has a number of allusions to battle and weapons. The following are the most important passages:—

Yt. x. 39–40 *ishavasciṭ aēshām ərəzifyo-parəna*
huthakhtaṭ haca thanvanāṭ
jya-jatāoṅhō vazəmna
ashəmnō-vīdhō bavaiti . . .
arshtayasciṭ aēshām hukhshnuta
tighra darəgha-arshtaya
vazəmna haca bāzubyō . . .
zarshtvaciṭ aēshām fradakhshanya
vazəmna haca bāzubyō . . .
karətaciṭ aēshām
hufrayukhta yōi nighrāire
sarahu mashyākanām . . .
vazraciṭ aēshām
hunivikhta yōi nighrāire
sarahu mashyākanām.

[1] So in accordance with the Sanskrit rendering of the passage in Darmesteter *Études Iraniennes* ii. 260–61. (18) *nō tasya narasya tasmin divasē, na ca tasyām rātrāu, kōpaçca durgatimāno dushṭanāmanō vināçanāya* (*kila kōpas tasya manō vināçayitum na çaktas*) *nō kartarībhis, naca cakrāis, naca çarāis, naca çastrikābhis, naca vajrēṇa, naca prati kurvanti tān vināçanāya,* (19) *pratikurvanti imāni nāmāni pṛshṭha*[*ta*]*çca purataçca.*

'Verily, their falcon-feathered
Arrows from the well-drawn bow,
Flying, darted from the bow-string,
Fail to hit the mark they aim at. . . .
Verily, their spears well-whetted,
[Sharp and long spears]
Flying from their hands (that hurl them),
Fail to hit the mark they aim at. . . .
Verily, their (well-slung) sling-stones
Flying from their hands (that sling them),
Fail to hit the mark they aim at. . . .
Verily, their swords and maces
Though well brandished and well wielded,
Falling on the heads of foemen,
Fail to hit the mark they aim at.'

Again, another passage in the same Yasht describes the war-chariot of Mithra:—

Yt. x. 128–132 *hishtaite aom vāshahe*
mithrahe vouru-gaoyaoitōish
hazaŋrəm thanvarəitinām
[*asti yō gavasnahe snāuya*
jya] *hukərətanām*. . . .

(129) *hazaŋrəm ishunām kahrkāsō-parənanām zaranyā-zafrām srvī-stayanām* [*asti yā aŋhaēna sparəgha*] *hukərətanām* . . . (130) *hazaŋrəm arshtinām brōithrō-taēzhanām hukərətanām* . . . *hazaŋrəm cakushanām haosafnaēnām bitaēghanām hukərətanām* . . . (131) *hazaŋrəm karətanām uvayō-dāranām hazaŋrəm gadhanām ayaŋhaēnām hukərətanām*. . . .

(132) *vazrəm srīrəm hunivikhtəm*
satafshtānəm satō-dārəm
fravaēghəm vīrō-nyāoñcīm
zarōish ayaŋhō frahikhtəm.

These mingled lines of prose and verse may be thus rendered:—

(128) 'By the side of Mithra's chariot,[1]
Mithra, lord of the wide pastures,
A thousand well-made bows are standing
[The bow has a string of cowgut]. . . .

[1] Cf. also Caland, *Pronomina im Avesta*, § 15.

(129) By his chariot are standing also a thousand vulture-feathered, gold-notched [*lit.* gold-jawed], lead-poised arrows [the barb is of iron]. . . . (130) Likewise a thousand spears, well-made and sharp-piercing . . . and a thousand steel battle-axes (?), two-edged and well made . . . (131) and a thousand well-made bronze clubs in addition.

(132) And by Mithra's chariot also
Stands a mace, fair and well-striking,
With a hundred knobs and edges,
Dashing forward felling heroes;
From the golden bronze 'tis molded.'

The last Avesta passage to be noted here is drawn from the Yasht in praise of the Fravashis, or glorified souls of the righteous.

Yt. xiii. 71–72 *tāo hē snaithishca varəthrasca*
parshtasca pairivārasca
vīsəñte pairi mainyaoyāṭ
drujaṭ . . .

yatha nōiṭ taṭ paiti karətō hufraŋharshtō, nōiṭ vazrō hunivikhtō, nōiṭ īshush hvāthakhtō, nōiṭ arshtish hvaiwyāsta, nōiṭ asānō arəmshūto avasyāṭ.

'The Fravashis, or souls of the righteous,
Come to him as weapon and armour,
As a back-piece and as breastplate,
Shielding from the Fiend supernatural,

so that neither the sword well-thrust, nor the mace well-wielded, nor the arrow well-drawn, nor the spear well-hurled, nor the stone flung by the hand may wound him.'

b. From the Old Persian Inscriptions.

In the cuneiform text of the Old Persian Inscriptions the only certain allusion to arms or armour is a metaphorical use of the word spear (*arshtish*) for arms in general and victorious sway. This is found in the Persepolis inscription of Naqsh-i Rustam 43.

Pārsahyā martiyahyā dūraiy arshtish paragmatā 'the spear of the Persian man has gone to distant lands.'

Other instances might be added if the text were more certain. For example, the reading of Bh. iv. 69, *ahifrashtādiy*, is not sure, or

we might explain the word as 'punished by the sword' (cf. Skt. *asi-*). In NR d 2, *isu-* has been supposed to stand for *ishu-*, 'arrow,' but this is questionable. In NR a 26, however, the proper name of the Scythian tribe *Tigrakhauda*, lit. 'sharp-helmed,' contains the Persian word for 'casque' or 'helmet.'

c. From the Pahlavi Books.

Turning from the Avesta and the Old Persian Inscriptions to the writings of the Pahlavi books in the time of the Sassanian kings, we get some information which is useful in supplementing the knowledge obtained from earlier sources, or which goes toward supporting inferences already drawn.

First in importance is the Pahlavi version of the Vendidad passages (Vd. xiv. 9; xvii. 10), which have been quoted above from the Avesta. This version, though belonging to later times, helps us by its rendering and by its glosses to interpret a number of doubtful points. The words by which it translates or glosses each Avesta word relating to arms will be given below, when the separate weapons are discussed in detail. It is unnecessary, therefore, to quote the text here.

Second, among the Pahlavi allusions to the military outfit of the soldier is an interesting passage in the Pahlavi religious treatise *Maīnōg-ī Khirat*, xliii. 7–13. A glance at the text of Andreas *Mainyo-i-Khard*, p. 47, or West *Book of the Mainyo-i Khard*, p. 44, and at West's translation in the *Sacred Books of the East*, xxiv. p. 84, will show the nature of this passage, which is a metaphorical or symbolic one. It contains an exhortation to put on the whole armour of righteousness and the law, and is worthy of comparison with the familiar biblical passage, *Isaiah* lix. 17 and *Ephesians* vi. 14–17.

Selecting merely the names of the arms, the Pahlavi forms are as follows: *Mkh.* xliii. 7–14, *pūshtīk-pānakīh . . . zīn . . . zarīh . . . gurtīh . . . spar . . . vazr . . . kamān . . . tīr . . . nē hak . . . acdast . . . panāh.*

This may be rendered with West, 'they make the spirit of wisdom a protection for the back,[1] and they wear the spirit of contentment on the body, like arms and armour[2] and valour,[3] and make the spirit of truth a shield, the spirit of thankfulness a club, the

[1] Cf. Av. *parshtas-ca* Yt. i. 19.

[2] *I.e.* as a coat of mail.

[3] Can *gurtīh* be 'hauberk'? Cf., perhaps, Mod. Per. گرد *girdah.*

spirit of complete mindfulness a bow, and the spirit of liberality an arrow; and they make the spirit of moderation like a spear, the spirit of perseverance a gauntlet, and they put forth the spirit of destiny as a protection.'

The Sanskrit version helps to clear up some of the doubtful words of the Pahlavi.

	English.	Pahlavi.	Sanskrit.
1.	Back-piece.	*pūshtīk-pānakīh.*	*pṛṣṭē rakṣasā.*
2.	Armour, etc.	*zīn, zarih, gurtīh.*	*sarva-sannāha.*
3.	Shield.	*spar.*	*pharikā.*
4.	Mace.	*vazr.*	*vajra.*
5.	Bow.	*kamān.*	*dhanus.*
6.	Arrow.	*tīr.*	*çara.*
7.	Lance.	*nēzhak.*	*kunta.*
8.	Gauntlet.	*acdast.*	*hastāvalambin.*
9.	Protection.	*panāh.*	*rakṣaka.*

A third passage which may add something to our subject is found in the *Ardā Vīrāf* xiv. 7–9. Allusion is there made to the arms and equipment of the heroes who have entered into the eternal joy of the hereafter. Their armour is described in the vision (cf. West *Arda Virāf.* p. 37) as 'made of gold, studded with jewels, well ornamented and all embroidered, and the men wore wonderful trousers (or greaves?).'

d. From the Shāh Nāmah and from Tabari.

Two other important passages in later Persian and Arabic works have been noticed by Paul Horn in his renderings from the Pahlavi Vendidàd in *Z.D.M.G.* xliii., p. 38 seq.; these are found in Firdausi's *Shāh Nāmah* (ed. Mohl, vi. 174), and in the Arabic chronicle of Tabari (Leyden edition) i. 964.

The first of these occurs in the account which Firdausi gives of the mustering of the troops by Babek under Khosrū Anōshirvan; it is rendered in Mohl's French translation of *Le Livre des Rois* vi., p. 135–36, as follows: 'Ils arrivèrent avec leurs lances, leurs casques et leurs cottes de mailles. — Kesra, le roi des rois parut devant Babek, tenant droit dans se main l'étendard royal, la tête couverte d'un casque de fer, la cotte de mailles rattachée au col du casque de Roum par une multitude de boutons, une massue à tête de bœuf à la main, quatre flèches de bois de peuplier dans la ceinture, l'arc pendu au bras, le lacet accroché à la selle, une ceinture d'or autour de la taille.'

The similar passage in Tabari[1] is given in Nöldeke's translation, *Tabari übersetzt*, p. 249: 'Die Ausrüstungsgegenstände, die bei einem als Ritter dienenden Soldaten verlangt wurden, waren Pferdepanzer, Panzerhemd, Brustharnisch, Beinschienen, Schwert, Lanze, Schild, Keule, am Gürtel befestigt, Axt oder Kolben, Köcher enthaltend 2 Bogen mit den Sehnen daran und 30 Pfeile, und endlich 2 gedrehte Sehnen, welche der Ritter hinten an den Helm anknüpfte.'

C. PERSIAN ARMS AND ARMOUR IN DETAIL.

The most important passages relating to Persian arms and armour in antiquity have now been given; it remains to take up in detail the separate pieces of the warrior's equipment, and to discuss them on the basis of the material gathered. This investigation, however, will be confined, as in Hdt. vii. 61, to the foot-soldier, although Herodotus (vii. 84) says that the equipment of the Persian cavalry was the same as that of the infantry, except with respect to the heavier helmet. The discussion of the mounted warrior would imply a study of the equipment of the horse and the chariot, for which there is not space here.

In the detailed treatment of the present subject it will be found convenient to adopt the order of equipment given in the important passage of the Avesta, Vendidad xiv. 9,[2] cited above, and to supplement it in turn from other sources.

1. **Spear.** — First mentioned in the Avesta list of weapons (Vd. xiv. 9) is the spear *arshti*, allusions to which are frequent elsewhere in Iranian literature. The Av. word *arshti-* answers to the Sanskrit *ṛṣṭí-*, 'spear,' a formidable weapon alike in the Vedic and the Epic age of India; see Hopkins, *Ruling Caste in Ancient India*, pp. 234, 287. The Pahlavi renders by *arsht*, and explains as *nēzhak*; cf. Firdausi نیزه *nīzah*.

[1] For help in connection with the Arabic, I am also indebted to the kindness of my pupil, Mr. Caspar Levias, Fellow of Columbia College.

[2] A brief bibliographical list of the most important works of reference on this topic are: Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta, traduction nouvelle*, 3 vols., Paris, 1892–93; de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Paris, 1881; Geiger, *Ostīrānische Kultur*, Erlangen, 1882; Geldner, *Uebersetzungen aus dem Avesta*, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, xxv. 563 seq.; Hopkins, *Ruling Caste in Ancient India*, Journal American Oriental Society, xiii.; Horn, *Uebersetzungen aus dem Pehlevi-Vendidad*, in Zt. d. deutsch. Morgenl. xliii. 38 seq.; Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache;* Spiegel, *Commentar über das Avesta*, Wien, 1864–68.

The material of which the spear was made was doubtless wood; the shape of the spear, with its long head and with a ball at its base to give it balance, may be seen from the Dieulafoy frieze (consult PLATE). On the monuments where the soldiers are represented as marching in procession, apparently in review, the spear is carried in a 'present arms' position.[1] The verb regularly used of hurling the spear is Av. $\sqrt{ah}$- = Skt. $\sqrt{as}$-. The principal Av. passages in which this weapon is alluded to are Yt. x. 20, 21, 39, 130; Yt. xiii. 72; Vd. xiv. 9; Vd. xvii. 9, 10. The word is also often compounded with adjectives; *e.g. darəgha-arshti-*, 'long spear,' Yt. x. 39, and *darəgha-ārshtaya-*, 'long-speared,' Yt. x. 102, Yt. xvii. 12. Similarly in proper names *Tizhiarshti-*, *Tizhyarshti-*, 'Sharp-spear, Sharp-speared'; *Pərəthu-*, *Vaēzhi-*, and *Bərəzi-*, 'Broad-, Darting-, and Tall-spear.'

Corresponding to the spear is the lance or javelin, *dru-*, so called from *dru-*, 'wood,' Skt. *drú-*; cf. A.-S. *æsc*, 'ash, spear.' This occurs in the compounds *khrvīdru-*, 'of bloody lance,' and *darshidru-*, 'with bold lance'; consult Justi, *Handbuch d. Zendsprache*, under the word.

2. **Sword and Dagger.** — Second in the Avesta list (Vd. xiv. 9) is mentioned the sword, *karəta-*; compare Skt. *kṛti-*, and consult Hopkins, *Ruling Caste in Ancient India*, pp. 234, 284. The Pahlavi version uses *kārt, sakkīnā, shamshēr.* Judging from the sculptures (cf. Fig. I.) and from the use by Herodotus of ἐγχειρίδιον, the *karəta-* was a short sword. The same word is employed in the Avesta (Vd. vii. 44, Yt. iii. 6) to designate a surgeon's knife; cf. *karətō-baēshaza-*. Herodotus describes the sword or dagger as hung from the girdle at the right side. This, as above noted, agrees with the figures on the monuments; consult especially the figure in Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, v., p. 843. In the Avesta, Yt. x. 40, the epithet *hufrāyukhta*, 'well-drawn,' applied to the sword, is from the radical *yuj-*, 'yoke' (attach to the sword-belt).

The sword, furthermore, is described as two-edged (Yt. x. 131), and as made of bronze (Vd. iv. 50 *ayaŋhaēnāish karətāish*). In some instances it must have been decorated; for the falchion of the angel Verethraghna, the divinity of victory, was 'chased with gold, embossed, and inlaid with all sorts of ornaments.'

Yt. xiv. 27 *vərəthraghnō ahuradhātō . . .*
barat karətəm zaranyō-saorəm[2]
frapikhshtəm vīspō-paēsaŋhəm

[1] Cf. also Stolze-Andreas, *Persepolis*, ii., p. 80.

[2] Could Av. *saora-* phonetically be compared with Skt. *çabára-*, *çabála-*, *çavala-* 'variegated, mottled,' and for meaning, Av. *zaranyō-saora-* with Av. *zaranyō-paēsa-*?

The motion of the sword as 'driven, thrust, or plunged,' is expressed by the verb √*harz-*, which is found in Yt. xiii. 72 *karətō hufraṅharshtō*. In some instances the sword seems to have been thrown as a missile, as also in ancient India. See Hopkins, *Ruling Caste*, p. 284–85. This may be inferred from the presence of the *karəta-* at Yt. i. 18, in the list of weapons that were hurled. The passages in which the sword is alluded to are Yt. i. 18; Yt. x. 40, 42, 131; Yt. xiii. 72; Yt. xiv. 27; Vd. iv. 50; Vd. xiv. 9; Vd. xvii. 9, 10. See also Justi, under *karətō-dāsu-*, *karətō-baēshaza-*.

Similar to the sword *karəta-* must have been the *ashtrā-* 'dagger, poniard, goad.' This weapon is found in the battle description Yt. x. 113 *ashtra . . . ashtrāo*, Yt. x. 112 *miθrəm . . . ashtraṅhādhəm*, Yt. v. 130 (xvii. 7) *khshvaēwayaṭ-ashtra*. The *ashtrā-* is carried by Yima Vd. ii. 7 as a symbol of authority, and it is one of the regular instruments used by the priest in inflicting punishment, Vd. xiv. 8, xviii. 4. The commonest usage, and probably the more original signification of the word, is that of a goad used in driving animals, from which the *aspahe ashtrā*, 'horse-goad,' came to be employed in inflicting religious castigation.

In Yt. i. 18, finally, a weapon *aku-*, pl. *akavō*, is mentioned, and is rendered in the Sanskrit version (above quoted, p. 103) by *kartarībhis;* the word must, therefore, denote some sort of a knife, dagger, or coulter.

3. **Mace or Club.** — The mace or club *vazra-* appears as the third weapon in the warrior's equipment (Vd. xiv. 9), and is constantly referred to elsewhere in the Avesta, especially as the weapon of the divinities. The club was equally important in the panoply of the Hindu warrior. See Hopkins, *Ruling Caste in Ancient India*, p. 281; and the word Av. *vazra-* corresponds to Skt. *vájra-*. The Pahlavi version of Vd. xiv. 9 has *vazr*, Firdausi has گرز *gurzah*, and Tabari جرز *jurz* (Horn). According to Tabari's description, cited above, p. 108, the club was hung at the belt. This fact probably accounts for the epithet *apa-yūkhta-* in Vd. xviii. 30, where the adjective apparently signifies 'unhooked, unfastened, drawn to menace,' although the word has been explained as 'with mace laid aside.'

The mace, in all probability, was originally a club of knotted wood; with the advance of the mechanical arts the mace was forged of metal. Mithra, for example, bears a mace which is cast of bronze and covered with knobs and spikes: —

Yt. x. 96; cf. x. 132

vazrəm zastaya drazhəmnō
satāfshtānəm satō-dārəm
fravaēghəm vīrō-nyāoñcim
zarōish ayaṅhō frahikhtəm
amavatō zaranyehe
amavastəməm zaēnãm

'Mithra in his hand a mace bears
With a hundred knobs and edges,
Dashing forward, felling heroes,
Cast it is of yellow iron,
Metal strong and golden coloured,
Strongest is this mace of weapons.'

As shown by the epithet *fravaēgha-* 'dashing forward,' in the above selection, and by *hunivikhta-* 'well-falling' in Yt. x. 40, 132, Yt. xiii. 72, Yt. vi. 5, the verb which is used to describe the wielding of the mace is √*vij-*, 'dart, dash, swing, brandish.'

Of like nature with the *vazra-*, if perhaps more simple in form, was the *gadhā-* 'club' mentioned in Yt. x. 101, 131, and in the compound *gadhavara-* 'club bearer,' Ys. ix. 10, Yt. xiii. 61. This would correspond to Skt. *gadā-*, see Hopkins, *Ruling Caste in Ancient India*, p. 282. A more general term for some sort of bludgeon or weapon is Ar. *vadar-*, Ys. ix. 30; Ys. xxxii. 10 (Gatha); cf. Skt. *vádhar-*. Consult Geiger, *Ostīrānische Kultur*, p. 444.

4. **Bow and Bowstring.** — Next in order (Vd. xiv. 9) is the bow which naturally appears in all lists of Iranian weapons, as also in Herodotus (cf. τόξα, above). The word which denotes 'bow' in Avestan is *thanvar-*, *thanvana-*, *thanvarəiti-*; these forms probably all show the root *thang/j-*, 'draw, drive,' the word thus standing for **thangvar-*; for Av. *v* = orig. *gv*; cf. Bartholomae, *Altiranische Dialekte*, § 127; Jackson, *Avesta Grammar*, i. § 187. The bow was common in India as among other nations; see Hopkins, *Ruling Caste*, p. 269. In the Pahlavi version of Vd. xiv. 9 we find *sanvar*, a mere transcription of *thanvara-*, but glossed by *kamān*; Firdausi has کمان *kamān* and Tabari قوس *kaus* in the passages above alluded to.

In the Avesta no special description is given of the material from which the bow was made, nor of its form. Some idea of the shape, however, may be got from the monuments (see PLATE and Fig. I.). Reference has been made above, p. 100, to the epithet μεγάλα, 'big,' used by Herodotus of the Persian bows. In the Tabari description, it should be added (see Nöldeke's *Uebersetzung*, p. 249), the

bow is described as being shut up in a case or quiver with the arrows: 'Köcher enthaltend 2 Bogen mit den Sehnen daran und 30 Pfeile.' An evident illustration of the bow thus carried may be seen in Fig. I., p. 98, above. Other allusions in the Avesta to the bow are Yt. x. 30 and Vd. xvii. 9.

The material of which the bowstring was made is cowgut, if we may judge from the prose gloss in the following passage: —

Yt. x. 128 *hishtaite aom vāshahe*
mithrahe vouru-gaoyaoïloish
hazaṅrəm thanvarəitinăm
[*asti yō gavasnahe snāuya*
jya] *hukərətanăm*

'By the side of Mithra's chariot,
Mithra, lord of the wide pastures,
A myriad bows well made are standing
[The string (of each) is made of
cowgut].'

5. **Arrows.** — Mention of the bow necessarily implies arrows. The ordinary Avestan word *ishu-* answers to Skt. *iṣu-* of the Hindu armament. See Hopkins, *Ruling Caste*, p. 275. The Pahlavi version gives *tīr* or *sar* for arrow.

With reference to the characteristics of the Persian arrows, Herodotus describes them as made of reed (ὀϊστοὺς καλαμίνους). In the Avesta the arrows are described as feathered, tipped, and weighted, as we learn from Yt. x. 129: —

hiṣhtaite aom vāshahe
mithrahe vouru-gaoyaoitōish

hazaṅrəm ishunăm kahrkāsō-parnanăm zaranyō-zafrām srvī-stayăm[1] [*asti yā aṅhaēna sparəghā*] *hukərətanăm.*

'By the side of Mithra's chariot,
Mithra, lord of the wide pastures,

stand a thousand arrows vulture-feathered, golden-notched, lead-balanced (or based), and the tip is of iron.' On the iron-pointed arrows compare also Vd. xiv. 9 *ayō-aghrāish.*

A similar allusion to 'falcon-feathered,' instead of vulture-feathered, arrows is found in Yt. x. 101 *ishavō ərəzifyō-parəna*, and in Yt. x. 39

[1] On the form *srvī-stayăm*, cf. Bartholomae, Z.D.M.G. lxvi. 396.

ishavasciṭ aēshãm ərəzifyō-parəna
huthakhtaṭ haca thanvanāṭ
jya-jatāoinhō vazəmna
ashəmnō-vīdhō bavaiti

'E'en their falcon-feathered arrows
Flying from the bow well drawn,
Smitten by the (twanging) bow-string,
Fail to hit the mark they aim at.'

The verb √*thanj-*, 'drive, draw,' used above (p. 111) of the bow, is applied, of course, likewise to the arrow; compare Vd. ix. 46 *yatha ishush hvathakhtō*, 'like a well-drawn arrow,' with Yt. x. 39 *huthakhlaṭ haca thanvanāṭ*, 'from the well-drawn bow,' just cited. So also Yt. xiii. 72, Vd. iv. 49.

The arrow or dart, *tighri-*, is the symbol of swiftness, as is shown by the famous archer passage in the Avesta, Yt. viii. 6

yō avavaṭ khshvaēwō vazāite
avi zrayō vouru-kashəm
yatha tighrish mainyavasāo
yim anhaṭ ərəkhshō khshviwi-ishush

To the Sea of Vourukasha
Swift he flies as did the arrow,
Darted through the vault celestial,
Which the archer Erksha darted.'

Again, in the comparison of the speed of Sraosha's horses with the wings of the wind, these chargers are said to be 'swifter than a good arrow-shot' Ys. lvii. 28 *āsyaŋha hvastayāo aiŋhimanyāo* (prob. gen. dual).

The number of arrows which the Avestan warrior carried (Vd. xiv. 9) was thirty. This number tallies exactly with that later given by Tabari (Nöldeke's *Uebersetzung*, p. 249), 'Köcher enthaltend 2 Bogen mit den Sehnen daran und 30 Pfeile.' The four arrows mentioned by Firdausi (Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, vi. p. 136), as noticed by Horn, are only those carried conveniently in the belt for immediate use. On the question of a possible mention of arrows in the Old Persian Inscriptions, see above, p. 106, and consult Fig. III. and PLATE.

6. **Quiver.** — A natural appurtenance of the bow and arrow is the quiver. This is mentioned as part of the soldier's equipment in

Herodotus vii. 61 ὑπὸ δὲ φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο, above cited, and in Æschylus *Persæ* 1002–04 ὀϊστοδέγμονα . . . θησαυρὸν βελέεσιν. In India the quiver *iṣudhi*, lit. 'arrow-holder,' was equally important; cf. Hopkins, *Ruling Caste*, p. 274.

The Avesta word for quiver is now presumed to be *akana*, from the passage under discussion, Vd. xiv. 9 *pukhdhəm zainish maṭ akana maṭ thrisās-ayō-aghrāish*. This may be rendered 'a *z.* with a quiver containing thirty iron-tipped arrows.' The Pahlavi version of the passage runs *zīno levateh kantīr levateh 30 zak-ī āsīnīn sar*. The Av. word *akana*, therefore, is rendered by *kantīr*, and this latter has been shown by Geiger, *Yātkār-ī Zarīrān*, 16, p. 52, *kantīr-i pur-tīr*, to mean 'quiver' in Pahlavi.[1] Some idea of the shape and size of the quiver for the arrows, and perhaps also for the bow (cf. p. 100), may be gathered from the Persepolis and Susa sculptures (see Figs. I., III., and PLATE), in most of which the quiver is a conspicuous part of the armour. See also Stolze, *Persepolis*, i., p. 44.

7. **Zainish** (?).—Of uncertain signification is the ἅπ. λεγ. *zainish* or *zaēnāush* enumerated fifth in the Vendidad list of weapons. The text as given in the preceding paragraph runs thus: *pukhdhəm zainish maṭ akana maṭ thrisās-ayō-aghrāish* 'fifth, a *zainish* with a quiver containing 30 iron-pointed arrows.' The Pahlavi version of the passage merely transcribes the word by *zīn*.[2]

In modern Persian (in Firdausi, for example) زین *zīn* signifies 'saddle.' In consequence of this, Darmesteter and others have rendered *zainish*, etc., by 'a saddle to which is attached a quiver.' One objection to this is that the Vendidad passage deals with the equipment of the foot-soldier rather than of the mounted warrior. Another objection, and more serious, is that as *zainish* stands fifth in the list and is thus placed among the arms, not among the dress or armour, it ought rather to signify a weapon than an appurtenance. If the main stress of the sentence, however, fall on *thrisās-ayō-aghrāish*, i.e. arrows, as missiles, then the quiver and *zainish* could be regarded as appurtenances, and one might imagine that the *zainish* was a sort of leather jerkin or jacket, or even shoulder-strap,

[1] Horn, *Z.D.M.G.* xliii., p. 39, draws attention to Pers. كندیل *kandīl* in Vullers, *Lexicon Persicum*. Perhaps there is something in this suggestion; cf. Skt. *kuṇḍala*, mentioned by Vullers.

[2] The Pahlavi form *zīn* occurs in the passage above cited (p. 106) from *Mainyo-i Khirat* xliii. 7; and in Haug, *Zand-Pahlavi Glossary*, p. 242, one of the meanings given for Phl. *zīn* is 'a title of the weapon of the angel Sraosha.' But probably in both these instances the word is merely identical with Av. *zaēna-* 'weapon'; cf. Av. *huzaēna-*, *hvāzaēna-* in Justi, *Handbuch d. Zendsprache*.

to which the quiver with its arrows was attached; from this idea the later signification 'saddle' might be an easy step. But such a suggestion has little to recommend it, and this prominent word remains unsatisfactorily explained.

It might be added that de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, p. 153, hints that *zainish* is perhaps the γέρρον of Herodotus. Could *zainish* or *zaēnaush* possibly denote a lasso, noose, or net attached to the quiver, from √*zi-* = Skt. *hi-*; cf. Skt. *hēti-* 'wurfwaffe'? Herodotus vii. 85 describes the Sagartians, a race of Persian extraction and language, as using in battle lassos or nooses made of twisted thongs, χρέονται δὲ σειρῇσι πεπληγμένῃσι ἐξ ἱμάντων . . . βάλλουσι τὰς σειρὰς ἐπ' ἄκρῳ βρόχους ἐχούσας. Guesses of this kind, however, are idle, and it would be difficult to trace from this signification the modern meaning of 'saddle' which the word in Persian now has. Possibly the form *yastō-zaēnish*, Yt. xiii. 67, may contribute something to elucidating this obscure word.

8. **Sling and Sling-stones.** — The sling, *fradakhshana*, is the sixth and last weapon directly given in the list, Vd. xiv. 9 *khshtvī fradakhshana snāvarə-bāzura maṭ thrisās-fradakhshainyāish*, 'sixth, a sling with arm-thong and with thirty sling-stones.' Sling-stones are mentioned also in Vd. xvii. 9 *asnaca fradakhshanya*, and again in Yt. x. 39 we read —

zarshtvaciṭ aēshãm fradakhshanya
vazəmna haca bāzubyō
ashəmnō-vīdhō bavaiti.

'Verily their (well-slung) sling-stones,
Flying from the hands that hurl them,
Fail to hit the mark they aim at.'

In Yt. xiii. 72, also, the stones seem to be hurled by hand, *asānō arəm-shūta*, 'arm-thrown stones,' instead of being whirled from a sling. The number of sling-stones which the warrior carried is set at thirty, as shown above. For a discussion of the Pahlavi version by *kōpīn*, compare Mod. Pers. کوبین 'battle-hammer'; see Horn, *Z.D.M.G.* xliii., p. 39.

9. **Quoit-disk(?) and Axe(?).** — Among the missiles enumerated at Yt. i. 18 (see p. 103, above), though not given in Vd. xiv. 9, is found *caku-*, a word of uncertain meaning. The Sanskrit version of Yt. i. 18, however, renders *cakavō* (plur.) by *cakrāis*, 'wheels, disks'; see Darmesteter, *Études Iraniennes*, ii. p. 261. We know that the wheel or disk, Skt. *cakra-*, was a formidable weapon in

ancient India; see Hopkins, *Ruling Caste*, p. 298–99. If we are to follow the tradition implied in the Sanskrit version of the word by *cakrāis*, we must regard our missile as a sort of quoit-disk that was hurled.[1] Something similar — perhaps an axe or hammer — must be *cakusha-* in Yt. x. 130 *hazaŋrəm cakushanām haosafnaēnām bitaeghanām*, 'a thousand steel double-edged axes.' (?) Geldner, in *K. Z.* xxv., p. 531, has noticed a New Pers. *cakush*, 'hammer.'

10. **Shield.** — Turning from the offensive to the defensive side of the warrior's equipment, we may regard the shield as foremost in importance; and this part of the accoutrement is included by Herodotus in his list, vii. 61. The shield, however, is conspicuous by its absence in the weapon catalogue of Vd. xiv. 9; it is missing also in the case of the Dieulafoy archers and the figures of Behistan (see PLATE, and Fig. III.). The omission is perhaps natural, as both spear and bow appear in these particular cases; it would be awkward to carry also the shield. The shield or buckler nevertheless does appear in Fig. II., and is specially mentioned in two Avesta passages as elsewhere in Iranian literature.

The Avesta designation of the shield is *spāra*, Phl. *spar* (*Mkh.* xliii. 8, see p. 106, above), Mod. Pers. سپر *sipar;* the Skt. version of *Mkh.* xliii. 8 has *pharīkā*. The two allusions to the shield in the Avesta are contained in the compound adjective *spārō-dāshta-*, 'bearing a shield.' The first passage, Yt. xiii. 35, runs —

ashāunām fravashayō . . .
frasrūtāo vanaṭ-pəshanāo
avi-amāo spārō-dāshtāo

'Fravashis, — souls of the righteous,
Famed afar for winning battles,
Bearing shields, and in might excelling.'

The other quotable allusion is in Yt. xix. 54:—

təm hacāṭ ashish
pourush-hvarəthra spāra-dāshta.

'Glorious Fortune shall attend him,
Bearing shield for his protection.'

[1] Is it a *caku* that the warrior portrayed in Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, v. 843, has attached to his belt? Or is this a mere fastening of the sword? See also the third figure in Fig. I. above. Anquetil du Perron, *Z. A.*, ii. 149, explained *caku-* as 'une piece de bois hérissée de clous, que ceux qui défendent une place affliégée, lancent du haut des murs sur leurs ennemis.' For *cakusha-* he implies a hatchet.

11. **Corselet, Breastplate, Mail-coat.**—The natural inference that the ancient Persian warrior wore a corselet or breastplate is supported, for instance, by Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 8. 3. Xenophon says that Cyrus put on his breastplate, *θώρακα ἀνέδυ*, before the battle of Cunaxa, and that his horsemen also were armed with corselets, *ὡπλισμένοι θώραξι*.

The word used in the Avesta to designate this part of the defensive armour is *vārəthman-*, *vārəman-*,[1] or sometimes *vərəthra-*. The divinity Mithra wears a golden breastplate, Yt. x. 112 *mithrəm . . . ərəzatō-frashnəm zaranyō-vārəthmanəm*, 'Mithra, the knee-caps(?) of whose armour are of silver, and whose breastplate is of gold.'[2] Again, in Yt. xi. 2, we have *drujō vārəthma*, 'a shield against the fiend.' The Fravashis, moreover, have corselets of iron; Yt. xiii. 45 *ayō-khaodhāo ayō-zayāo ayō-vərəthrāo*, 'whose helmets, weapons, and corselet are all of iron.' Similarly at Yt. ix. 30 *ashta-aurvañtō vispa-thaurvō-ashtoish puthrō vīspa-thaurvō urvi-khaodhō stvī-manaothrish*, 'A., [who was] the son of V., and who was the all-oppressor —he of the brazen(?)[3] helmet and brazen corselet, and the stout neck.'

The two parts, breastplate and back-piece, of the corselet seem to be recognized in Yt. i. 19 *parshtasca pairivārasca;* see also the Pahlavi citation from *Mkh.* xliii. 6, *pūshtīk-pānakīh*, 'a protection for the back.'

The mail-coat as directly connected with the cuirass is especially mentioned in Vd. xiv. 9 *zrādha-*, which is presumed to designate the ringed mail-coat, so called, it is thought, from its rattling; compare Av. √*zrād-*, 'rattle,' = Skt. √*hrād-;* see also Bezzenberger, *B.B.* xix., p. 248. The Pahlavi version of Vd. xiv. 9 renders *zrādha-* by *zrāī*, which answers to Firdausi's زِرِه *zirih*, 'vestis militaris ex anulis fereis conserta' (Vullers, *Lexicon Persicum*). In Tabari's description, above cited, the corresponding word is دِرع *dir'*, Horn, *Z.D.M.G.* xliii., p. 49; and *zrāī*, *zarih*, is similarly mentioned in the Pahlavi passage, xliii. 6, above quoted, p. 106. The monuments give little help on this point.

[1] The phrases in which *vārəman-* (cf. Skt. *várman-*) occur (Ys. x. 14; Yt. v. 130) are unfortunately very obscure.

[2] Herodotus, vii. 83, draws attention to the splendour and profusion of gold in the equipment of the Persian troops.

[3] Possibly we may compare Hdt. vii. 84 *χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα*. Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta*, ii., p. 439, also conjecturally renders 'casque d'airain.' Bartholomae, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxvi. 575 has 'mit mächtigem Helm und mächtigem Panzer, mit starkem Nacken.' De Harlez has 'au large casque.'

12. **Hauberk and Necklace.** — The eighth piece of armour in the Avesta list (Vd. xiv. 9) is the *kūiris*. This is a once-used word; there is some uncertainty in regard to its meaning. The Pahlavi version renders the term by *grīvpān*, 'neck-guard' (cf. Mod. Pers. گریبان *girībān*), and adds the gloss *zak i men targ ravar avo zrāī bast yekavīmūnēt*, 'it is attached behind from the helmet to the corselet.' There seems little reason to doubt, therefore, that the armour in question is a sort of hauberk. Among the ancient Hindus also 'we find,' says Hopkins, *Ruling Caste in Ancient India*, p. 307, 'an armour-piece called the neck-protector (*kaṇṭhatrāṇa*), which must have formed a defensive union between the helmet above and the corselet below.'[1]

In this connection attention should be called to the necklace which the warriors wore as an ornament or as part of their trappings, as appears from the monuments (see Fig. I., and compare the figure in Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, v. 843. In ancient India likewise we have *kaṇṭhasūtra*, 'necklace' (see Hopkins, *Ruling Caste*, p. 307); and in Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 2. 27, allusion is made to the twisted necklace of gold, στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν, as also in the Avesta the divinity of the wind wears a golden necklace, Yt. xiv. 57 *vaēm zaranyō-minām*. Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 5. 8, also mentions the warrior's bracelets, στρεπτοὺς περὶ τοῖς τραχήλοις καὶ ψέλια περὶ ταῖς χερσίν. Bracelets, it might be added, are conspicuous in the Dieulafoy Susan archers; see PLATE, above.

13. **Mantle or Tunic.** — Ninth in the armour list (Vd. xiv. 9) is the *paiti-dāna*, a mantle or tunic, if we follow the inference drawn from the Pahlavi gloss. It renders and explains Vd. xiv. 9 thus: *padtān: zak ī azer zrāī yatūnd*, 'a paitidana: that which goes under the corselet.' This distinction is added by the translator in order to distinguish the word from the other *paitidāna*, or cloth worn before the mouth by the priest when performing the ritual service. The question of the mantle or tunic has sufficiently been discussed above, and needs no further elucidation here.

[1] Have 'the two twisted thongs,' alluded to by Tabari (cf. p. 108, above) as attached to the helmet, possibly some connection with *kūiris*? Geldner, *K. Z.* xxv. 567, renders *kūiris* by 'helmbusch,' and compares Mod. Pers. کرس *kurs*, 'cirrus cincinnus, coma crispata' (Vullers). The horse-tail which the modern French cavalry wear hanging from the helmet down to the cuirass, I have heard, is not only an ornament but serves as quite a useful protection against sabre-cuts. Is the Mod. Pers. *kurs*, *kuras*, to be connected with Av. *kūiris* by some such explanation? Of course this is a mere guess.

14. **Helmet and Head-protection.** — The covering for the head is the tenth armour-piece in the Vendidad catalogue. The word *sāravāra*, lit. 'head-covering,' there used to express this part of the panoply, is simply transcribed by the Pahlavi translator of the passage; he adds, however, the word *targ*, 'casque,' as gloss, to specify the meaning more sharply. The term *sāravāra-* of the original is evidently deliberately chosen as it is the broader or more general designation, 'head-piece,' to include the helmet, *khaodha*, the tiara, and the simple band noticed, for example, in the Dieulafoy frieze (see PLATE) and in the sculptures. Compare also the common explanations of the Xenophon passage, i. 8. 6 Κῦρος δὲ ψιλὴν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστατο.

The regular Persian designation for the helmet is Av. *khaodha*, Old P. *tigra-khauda*, Mod. P. *khōd*, *khōī*. In the Avesta it is described as made of iron, brass, or gold: Yt. xiii. 45 *ashāunąm fravashayō . . . ayō-khaodhāo*, Yt. ix. 30 *urvi-khaodhō* (see p. 117, above), and Yt. xv. 57 *vaēm zaranyō-khaodhəm yazamaide*, 'we worship Vayu, the divinity with the golden helm.' Herodotus, vii. 84, assigns bronze and steel helmets (χάλκεα καὶ σιδήρεα) to the Persian cavalry.

15. **Belt or Girdle.** — The girdle or sword-belt, Av. *kamara* (ἅπ. λεγ.), to which the sword was attached (cf. Herodotus' ζώνη), is mentioned as next to the last piece in the soldier's trappings, Vd. xiv. 9. The Pahlavi version has the same word, *kamar*, which is found also in Firdausi; see also the Tabari passage above quoted, p. 108, and consult Fig. I. and the drawing in Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, v. 843, for the arrangement of the belt. There are a number of allusions in literature to the decoration of the Persian girdles with jewels; see, for example, Pahlavi, *Mādigāne Chatrang*, 19, p. 5 (ed. Peshutan Sanjana).

16. **Leg-guards.** — Last in the enumeration of defensive armour (Vd. xiv. 9) comes the word *rānapānō*, 'thigh-protector.' From the Pahlavi gloss — see E. W. West, cited by Horn, *Z.D.M.G.* xliii., p. 49 — we infer that greaves are alluded to. On the figures on the monuments no greaves or cuisses are visible, and one might at first be led to conjecture that by *rānapānō* are meant the Persian trousers, ἀναξυρίδας, alluded to by Herodotus (see p. 99) and by Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 5. 8. Several authorities have so explained the word. The passage in Ardā-Vīrāf, xiv. 9 *rānō-vartīn*, 'thigh-coverings' (cf. Germ. 'beinkleider'), might favour such a view. Nevertheless, it is more likely that a special piece of armour, cuisse, greave, or tasse,

is meant; the etymology speaks for this, and in Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 8. 6, Cyrus as well as his horsemen wears *παραμηριδίοις*, 'thigh-pieces or cuisses,' which answers almost exactly to *rāna-pāna-*, 'thigh-protectors, leg-guards.'

17. **Knee-pieces(?).** — Not mentioned as a direct piece of armour in the Vendidad catalogue, but alluded to in Yt. x. 112, if the word be rightly so explained, is the knee-cap, or knee-piece. The text, Yt. x. 112, alludes to the divinity Mithra as *ərəzatō-frashnəm zaranyō-vārəthmanəm*, 'wearing knee-pieces(?) of silver and a corselet of gold.' So at least Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta*, ii., p. 471, conjectures from *frashnu-*.

18. **Hand-guard or Gauntlet.** — In the Pahlavi treatise, *Mkh.* xliii. 13, above translated (p. 106), there is an allusion to a piece of armour that seems not to be mentioned elsewhere in old Iranian literature; it is the military glove, gauntlet, or hand-protector, Phl. *acdast*. The Sanskrit version of the Pahlavi passage renders the word by *hastāvalambin*. This part of the defensive armour answers, therefore, to a hand-guard, which perhaps served like Chaucer's 'bracer' as a protection for the arm and hand against the bow-string. Among the ancient Hindus (see Hopkins, *Ruling Caste*, p. 307) the hand-protection was in common use. All the soldiers on the ancient Persian monuments, however, seem to have the hands bare.

CONCLUSION.

There remain perhaps one or two other words, such as Av. *barō-zushəm* Yt. xix. 42, connected with the arms of the Iranian warrior, but they are either unimportant or are at present too obscure to allow of satisfactory treatment in a monograph like the present.

There is nothing left but to give in tabular form a general survey of the weapons and armour above discussed, and to bid adieu to the subject, hoping, perhaps, that although not much new has been brought forward, still the presentation of most of the material in convenient form for the classical scholar may possibly merit some thanks. The table follows: —

APPENDIX I.

A. ARMS AND WEAPONS.

	1. Spear.	2. Sword, Dagger.	3. Mace, Club.
Herodotus	*αἰχμή*	*ἐγχειρίδιον*	——
Avesta	*arshti-* *dru-*	*karəta-* *ashtrā-* *(aku-?)*	*vazra-* *gadhā-* *vadar-*
Old Persian	*arshti-*	——	——
Pahlavi	*arsht*	*kārt* *sakkīnā* *shamshēr*	*vazr*
Firdausī	*nīzah*	——	*gurzah*
Tabari	*rumḥ* رمح	*saif* سيف	*jurz* جرز

	4. Bow.	5. Arrow.	6. Quiver.
Herodotus	*τόξον*	*ὀιστός*	*φαρετρεών*
Avesta	*thanvar(a-)* *thanvana-* *thanvarəti-*	*ishu-* *(tighra-)*	*akana-*
Old Persian	——	*ishu-* (?)	——
Pahlavi	*sanvar* *kamān*	*sar* *tīr*	*kantīr*
Firdausi	*kamān*	*tīz*	——
Tabari	*ḳaus*	*nushāb*	*ja'bah*

A. ARMS AND WEAPONS (*continued*).

	7. Uncertain.	8. Sling.	9. Quoit (?), Axe (?).
Herodotus	——	——	——
Avesta	*zainish*	*fradakhshana-*	*caku-* (cf. Skt. *cakra-*) *cakusha-*
Old Persian	——	——	——
Pahlavi	*zīn*	*kōpīno*	——
Firdausī	*zīn*, 'saddle'	(*kamand* ?)	——
Tabari	——	——	——

B. ARMOUR AND ACCOUTREMENTS.

	10. Shield.	11. Coat of mail, Corselet, Breastplate.	12. Hauberk, Collar, (Bracelets).
Herodotus	γέρρον	(Xen. *Anab.* θώραξ)	(Xen. *Anab.* στρεπτός, 'necklace'; ψέλια, 'bracelets')
Avesta	*spāra-*	*zrādha-* *vārəthman-* *vərəthra-* (*vārəman-*)	*kūiris*, 'hauberk' *manaothri-*, 'collar'
Old Persian	——	——	——
Pahlavi	*spar*	*zrāī*	*grīvpān*
Firdausī	*sipar*	*zirih*	——
Tabari	*turs* ترس	*dir'* درع *jaushan* جوشن	——

B. ARMOUR AND ACCOUTREMENTS (*continued*).

	13. Mantle, Tunic.	14. Helmet.	15. Belt, Girdle.
Herodotus	κιθών	τιάρα (cf. vii. 84, ἐπὶ τῇσι, κ.τ.λ.)	ζώνη
Avesta	*paiti-dāna*	*sāravāra-, khaodha-*	*kamara-*
Old Persian	——	*°khauda*	——
Pahlavi	*padtān*	*sārvār* (*targ*)	*kamar*
Firdausī	——	*khōd*, etc.	*kamar*
Tabari	——	*mighfar* مغفر	*mantiḳah* منطقة

	16. Leg-guards.	17. Knee-caps (?).	18. Hand-guard, Gauntlet.
Herodotus	ἀναξυρίδες, 'trousers' (but cf. Xen. *Anab.* παραμηρίδια)	——	——
Avesta	*rānapāna-*	*frashna-*	——
Old Persian	——	——	——
Pahlavi	*rānpān*	——	*acdast*
Firdausī	——	——	——
Tabari	*sāḳain* ساقين	——	——

APPENDIX II.

THE PERSIAN γέρρον.

For a new and valuable suggestion regarding the form of the Persian targe, I am indebted to a happy combination of literary and sculptural evidence by my colleague and friend, Professor Merriam. He writes me as follows: —

'The Persian γέρρα may be further illustrated from another source. When Pausanias is describing the temple at Delphi, he says (x. 19. 4) that the shields captured from the Galatians, who invaded Greece under Brennus in 279 B.C., were affixed to the epistyle on the west and south sides of the structure. "The form of these," he continues, "bears a very close resemblance to the Persian γέρρα — (σχῆμα δὲ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἐγγυτάτω τῶν Περσικῶν γέρρων)." On the portico at Pergamum dedicated to Athena Polias by Eumenes II. in honour of victories over the Galatians of Asia Minor, were many sculptured representations of weapons taken as spoils from the enemy, and the marbles are now to be seen in the Berlin Museum. Among them are several oblong shields (see Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Figs. 1406, 1432, 1434, 1435) which may be identified with certainty as similar to those mentioned at Delphi (cf. Paus. i. 4. 6 Περγαμηνοῖς δὲ ἔστι μὲν σκῦλα ἀπὸ Γαλατῶν; also the targe of the "Dying Gaul," etc.). They resemble the Persian shields of Fig. II. above, p. 99, differing chiefly by a greater narrowness, by the possession of a definite rim, and by the absence of the holes in the sides.'

APPENDIX III.

INDEX OF PRINCIPAL TOPICS, PASSAGES, AND WORDS.

1. Topics.

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Breastplate,	117	Knee-pieces(?),	120	Sling,	115
Club,	110	Leg-guards,	119	Spear,	100, 113
Corselet,	117	Mace,	110	Tiara,	97
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2. Greek.

a. Texts.

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7. 84, 96
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b. Word Index.

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ἐγχειρίδιον, 100
κιθῶνας, 97
ὀϊστοί, 100
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3. Avesta.

a. Texts.

Yt. 1. 18–19, 103
9. 30, 117
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b. Word Index.

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apa-yūkhta, 110
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ashtrā-, 109
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√*thañj-*, 111, 113
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paiti-dāna-, 118
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rāna-pāna-, 119
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vərəthra, 117
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4. Old Persian.

a. Texts.

NRa 43, 105

b. Word Index.

arshtish, 105
ahifrashtādiy, 105
isu-, 106
Tighrakhauda, 106, 119

5. Pahlavi.

a. Texts.

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b. Word Index.

acdast, 120
grīvpañ, 118
kantīr, 114
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padtān, 118
rāno-vartin, 119
spar, 116
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6. Modern Persian.

a. Texts.

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b. Word Index.

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kandīl, 114 n.
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7. Sanskrit.

a. Text.

Skt. Version Yt. 1. 18, Mkh. 43. 7, 103 n., 107

b. Word Index.

kaṇṭhatrāṇa-, 118
kaṇṭhasūtra-, 115
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gadā-, 111
cakra-, 115
pharikā-, 116
hastāvalambin-, 000

8. Arabic.

a. Text.

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b. Word Index.

dir', 117
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kaus, 110
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A. V. Williams Jackson.

Archaism in Aulus Gellius.

PART I.: INTRODUCTORY AND GENERAL.

THAT Aulus Gellius was an ardent lover and a diligent student of the early Latin writers, especially those who preceded the classical period, and that this fondness coloured and in large measure determined the style of the *Noctes Atticæ*, are commonplaces of criticism. In 1853, Bähr (in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyklopädie*, part 57, p. 57) wrote: —

"Davon (*i.e.* from rhetorical arts and devices) aber wird man durchweg den Gellius frei finden und überhaupt bei ihm bald die Beweise des Strebens erkennen, nach den älteren classischen Mustern der römischen Beredsamkeit aus der Periode ihres Glanzes sich zu bilden, und in derselben einfachen, klaren, und natürlichen Sprache sich möglichst zu bewegen. Im Einzelnen finden wir allerdings mehrfach Ausdrücke und Wendungen, welche dieser Periode schon ferner liegen und theilweise uns sogar auf eine frühere zurückführen, in sofern sie aus den älteren lateinischen Komikern groszentheils entnommen erscheinen und von Gellius in einer Weise angewendet worden sind, welche den Schein erregt, als habe er insbesondere durch derartige, zum Theil veraltete und ausser Gebrauch gekommene Ausdrücke seine Rede aufputzen und ihr damit einen besondern Anstrich geben wollen." Later, while speaking of the unusual words and expressions to be found in Gellius, the same writer remarks, "überdies wird sich bei den meisten dieser Ausdrücke der Nachweis führen lassen, das sie aus Schriftstellern der älteren und früheren Periode Roms, namentlich den älteren Komikern, entnommen sind: bei dem anhaltenden und umfassenden Studium, das Gellius den Werken dieser Periode zugewendet hatte, kann es ebenso wenig befremden, wenn Gellius einzelne Worte und Ausdrücke aus diesem Kreise herausnimmt und in einzelnen Fällen, wie dies auch andere gethan, und wie es selbst im Geiste der Zeit lag, anwendet. *Allerdings verdient dieser ganze Punkt noch eine*

speciellere und mehr ins Einzelne gehende Erörterung, als ihm bisher zu Theil geworden ist."[1] It is a curious fact that nearly all who have essayed to write about Gellius have done so from a thoroughly partisan point of view.[2] While Bähr, then, is diligent in making excuses for Gellius, Bernhardy's judgment seems to me to err somewhat towards the other extreme, as failing to allow sufficient weight to the fact that the tendency towards archaisms was thoroughly in accord with the literary, as well as the artistic, principles of the time. Again, in seeking to form a true estimate of Gellius, we must not fail to compare his work and style with that of Fronto and Apuleius. Bernhardy's views are expressed in his *Grundriss der römischen Litteratur*, pp. 943, 944: "seine Studien waren mehr der alten nationalen Litteratur, der alterthümlichen Form, als den Griechen und ihren Sprachforschern zugewandt. . . . Sein Geschmack wurde von den veralteten Autoren des Freistaats befriedigt, er liebt ihre verschollenen Wörter und bewegt sich mit Wohlgefallen in ihren steifen Formen, welche doch seinen Themen übel stehen. . . . Der Stil ist gewunden und affektirt einen alterthümelnden Ernst, seine breiten und verschwommenen Manieren verrathen den geistlosen Schüler, da Gellius ohne Geschmack und bis zur Verschwendung ein Gemisch alter und neuer, gezierter und abtönender Wortbildnerei zur Schau stellt, aber auch mit Uebertreibungen der Syntax prunkt und in unleidlicher Weise das angelernte Rüstzeug der Frontonianer schnörkelt. . . . Sein eigenes Urtheil war beschränkt: er lebt in der veralteten Schriften und Formen." Hertz, the editor of the received text of Gellius, writing to Madvig in 1873, expressed himself as follows:[3] "Daruber dass G. ein 'antiquarius' ist, besteht, wie bereits bemerkt worden ist, zwischen uns keine Differenz. Diese Vorliebe für die alte Sprache und Litteratur seines Volkes bethätigt er vielfach dadurch, dass er aus ihren Schätzen seine eigene Ausdrucksweise bereichert. Es kann hier nicht der Ort sein, über diesen Punkt eine ins einzelne eingehende Untersuchung anzustellen, *die eine ganz andere Ausdehnung erfordern würde, als auch der längste Brief sie gestattet.*"[4] Elsewhere (*Renaissance und Rococo*, p. 38) Hertz has spoken to the same effect: "Mehr als die Einkleidung entspricht dem Stoffe endlich die Schreibart:

[1] The italics are my own.

[2] For some details on this point, see Th. Vogel's programm (Zittau, 1860), *De A. Gellii vita, studiis, scriptis narratio et indicium*, pp. 1, 2.

[3] *Vindiciæ Gellianæ alteræ*, p. 20 = *Siebente Supplementband der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, p. 20.

[4] Here again the italics are my own.

die nüchterne Sprache des Alltagslebens ist bei dem Bewunderer des Fronto natürlich wiederum versetzt mit allerhand Ingredienzen aus der vorciceronischen Zeit; namentlich plündert er die reichen Vorrathskammern der alten Komödie, deren drastischer und energischer Wortschatz sich nur widerwillig einer so philisterhaften Verwendung fügt."

Gellius' fondness for the old writers and his habitual study of their works are well attested by the passage at x. 25. 1 *Telorum, iaculorum gladiorumque vocabula, quae in historiis veteribus scripta sunt, item navigiorum genera et nomina libitum forte nobis est sedentibus in reda conquirere, ne quid aliarum ineptiarum vacantem stupentemque animum occuparet.* In the lists which follow in §§ 2 and 5, no fewer than five words are found, which are now extant only in Gellius and the ante-classical writers; *e.g. oria, oriola, prosumia, rumex, trifax.* Compare xi. 3. 1 *quando ab arbitriis negotiisque otium est et motandi corporis gratia aut spatiamur aut vectamur, quaerere nonnunquam aput memet ipsum soleo res eiusmodi, parvas quidem minutasque et hominibus non bene eruditis aspernabiles, sed ad veterum scripta penitus noscenda et ad scientiam linguae Latinae cumprimis necessarias;* xx. 10. 4 *cumque ille demiratus aliena haec esse a poetis et haud usquam inveniri in carminibus Ennii diceret, tum ego hos versus ex octavo annali. absentes dixi, nam forte eos tanquam insigniter praeter alios factos memineram,* where the *forte* must be interpreted in the light of other passages of our author, such as that at x. 25. 1, cited above. See further xii. 9. 1 *est plurifariam videre atque animadvertere in veteribus scriptis;* xvi. 9. 1, 2, where it is said of the phrase *susque deque* that *in poematis quoque et in epistulis veterum scriptum est plurifariam; sed facilius reperias qui verbum ostentent quam qui intellegant. Ita plerique nostrum, quae remotiora verba invenimus, dicere ea properamus, non discere;* x. 27. 1 *in libris veteribus memoria extat;* xiii. 3. 3 *itaque in libris veterum vulgo reperias* **necessitudinem** *dici pro eo, quod necessum est;* the lemma of viii. 12 *quid significet in veterum libris scriptum* **plerique omnes**; xiii. 23. 4 *sicut in libris veterum scriptum est;* xvii. 2. 5, where, after citing from Claudius Quadrigarius a passage containing the verb *frunisci,* he adds this interesting comment: **frunisci** *rarius quidem fuit in aetate M. Tulli ac deinceps infra rarissimum, dubitatumque est ab imperitis antiquitatis an Latinum foret. Non modo autem Latinum, sed iucundius amoeniusque etiam est* **frunisci** *quam* **fruor** . . .; xvii. 2. 10, where it is said of the phrase *sole occaso,* also cited from Quadrigarius, that *non insuavi vetustate est, si quis aurem habeat non sordidam nec pro-*

culcatam; xvii. 2. 18 **ne id quoque** *dixit* (*Quadrigarius*) *pro* **ne id quidem,** *infrequens nunc in loquendo, sed in libris veterum creberrimum;* xviii. 9. 6 *haec quidem Fronto requirere nos iussit vocabula non ea re, opinor, quod scripta esse in ullis veterum libris existumaret, sed ut nobis studium lectitandi in quaerendis rarioribus verbis exerceret;* ii. 13. 1, 2 *antiqui oratores historiaeque aut carminum scriptores etiam unum filium filiamve* **liberos** *multitudinis numero appellarunt. Idque nos, cum in complurium veterum libris scriptum aliquotiens adverterimus;* iii. 2. 14; xi. 2. in lemm. *quod* **elegantia** *apud antiquiores non de amoeniore ingenio, sed de nitidiore cultu atque victu dicebatur,* and § 1 of same chapter, where *apud antiquiores* of the lemma is defined by *ad aetatem M. Catonis;* xvii. 1. 9 *antiquiores verbo isto alio quoque modo usitati sunt;* v. 20. 6; xi. 1. in lemm. *quibus verbis antiquitus multa minima dici solita sit;* xii. 5. 13 *ea vera et proba fortitudost, quam maiores nostri scientiam esse dixerunt rerum tolerandarum et non olerandarum;* i. 7. 18; ii. 23; ii. 29. 20; iii. 16. in lemm.; iv. 7. 2; vii. 5. 10; ix. 14. 6; x. 3. 15; x. 24; xii. 2. 1, 2, 3, 12; xiii. 6. 1; xiii. 23; xvi. 1. 3; xviii. 6. 7; xix. 13. 2, where Fronto is the speaker.

It is manifest from these citations that the "ancients" were ever with Gellius, and that they formed the final court of appeal on all matters relating to grammar, lexicography, or literary criticism. It becomes, therefore, a matter of very material importance to determine the exact sense in which he used the terms *veteres, antiquiores, maiores, antiquitus.* The answer to this question can be given partly from the testimony of other Latin writers, partly from the evidence offered by Gellius himself. In the fifteenth chapter of the *Dialogus* of Tacitus, Aper says to Messala, *Non desinis, Messala,* **vetera tantum et antiqua** *mirari, nostrorum autem temporum studia inridere atque contemnere. Nam hunc tuum sermonem saepe excepi, cum oblitus et tuae et fratris tui eloquentiae* **neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes parem antiquis.** . . . In reply Messala, after saying that his opinions are altogether unchanged, asks why it is that the orators of the day are so greatly inferior to the ancients. Maternus promises for himself and Secundus that they will aid Messala in his efforts to unravel this mystery, and concludes with these words: *Aprum enim solere dissentire et tu paulo ante dixisti et ipse satis est manifestus iam dudum in contrarium accingi nec aequo animo perferre hanc nostram pro antiquorum laude concordiam.* Aper, thus challenged, commences his reply with the question: *sed hoc primum interrogabo, quos vocetis antiquos, quam oratorum aetatem*

significatione ista determinetis. The part of his speech which is most to our purpose is to be found in chapter 17: *sed transeo ad Latinos oratores, in quibus non Menenium, ut puto, Agrippam, qui potest videri antiquus, nostrorum temporum disertis anteponere soletis, sed Ciceronem et Caesarem et Caelium et Calvum et Brutum et Asinium et Messalam: quos quid antiquis temporibus potius ascribatis quam nostris, non video.* At the beginning of chapter 19 the text is unfortunately in a very uncertain state, yet enough has been preserved to corroborate the results deducible from the passages already cited.

In all these places we have a distinction sharply drawn between the *antiqui* and the *novi*, the old and the new. To the former class Cicero belongs, together with his predecessors. In other words, the distinction is practically the same with that which we imply when we speak of classical or ante-classical as opposed to the post-classical writers. See Principal Peterson's note on the *Dialogus*, c. 16, in which it is pointed out that *antiqui* and *veteres* are used in Quintilian in exactly the same way in contradistinction to *novi*. To this note I am indebted for a most appropriate citation from Quintilian ix. 3. 1 *si antiquum sermonem nostro comparemus, paene iam quidquid loquimur figura est: ut 'hac re invidere,' non, ut* **veteres et Cicero praecipue**, *'hanc rem.'* Compare also Peterson's notes on Quintilian x. 1. 40, 43; x. 2. 17. Finally, I may cite Pliny *Epp.* i. 16. 2, where, in eulogizing his friend Pompeius Saturninus, Pliny says of him that in his orations *adsunt acutae crebraeque sententiae, gravis et decora constructio,* **sonantia verba et antiqua**, *i.e.* with the true classic ring; and Pliny again i. 5. 11 *Satrius Rufus, cui non est cum Cicerone aemulatio, et qui contentus est eloquentia saeculi nostri,* with Mr. Cowan's notes on both passages.

The evidence which can be drawn from the pages of Gellius' own work is next to be considered. Hertz (*Vindiciæ Gell. Alt.* p. 20) writes: "Den Kreis der sprachlichen Autoritäten des G., die für ihn zugleich Vorbilder sind und deren Worte und Wendungen er, wie die Durchmusterung im einzelnen ergibt, mit Vorliebe verwerthet, gibt er selbst mehrfach an. Am genauesten bezeichnet er ihn v. 21. 6." In that chapter we are told that a certain friend of Gellius, a man *adprime doctus*, a *homo doctrina seria et ad vitae officia devincta ac nihil de verbis laborante*, had in conversation used the form *pluria* instead of *plura*. Gellius takes the trouble to tell us that his friend had used this form *non studio ostentandi neque quo* **plura** *non dicendum putaret, . . . sed adsidua veterum scriptorum tractatione inoleverat linguae illius vox, quam in libris saepe offende-*

rat. Among the company was a certain individual, denounced by Gellius as *reprehensor audaculus verborum, qui perpauca eademque a vulgo protrita legerat.* This person had the temerity to remark: "Barbare dixisti pluria, nam neque rationem verbum hoc neque auctoritates habet." "Amabo te, vir bone," cries Gellius' friend, "velim doceas nos, cur **pluria** sive **compluria**, nihil enim differt, non Latine sed barbare dixerint *M. Cato, Q. Claudius, Valerius Antias, L. Aelius, P. Nigidius, M. Varro,* quos subscriptores approbatoresque huius verbi habemus praeter poetarum oratorumque veterum copiam multam." The critic replies: "Tibi habeas auctoritates istas, *ex Faunorum et Aboriginum saeculo repetitas.*" In the eighth chapter of the nineteenth book, Gellius tells us that in his student days at Rome he often visited Fronto. On one of these occasions, a certain member of the company, described as *homo bene eruditus et tum poeta illustris,* chanced to use the phrase *arenae calentes.* To this Fronto objected on the ground that *arena* should be used only in the singular. This contention he supported by appealing to a statement to that effect in Cæsar's *De Analogia.* At the same time he mentions several words, *e.g. arma, comitia, inimicitiae, quadrigae* which ought to be employed only in the plural number. In § 6 the poet defends himself thus: *fortassean de* **quadrigis** *veterum auctoritati concessero,* **inimicitiam** *tamen, sicuti* **inscientiam,** *et* **impotentiam** *et* **iniuriam,** *quae ratio est quam ob rem C. Caesar vel dictam esse a veteribus vel dicendam a nobis non putat, quando Plautus, linguae Latinae decus,* **deliciam** *quoque* ἐνικῶς *dixerit pro* **deliciis**? . . . **Inimicitiam** *autem Q. Ennius in illo memoratissimo libro dixit.* Two points in this defence (as also in v. 21) are especially deserving of notice. The first is the phrase *quae ratio est quam ob rem C. Caesar* **vel dictam esse a veteribus vel dicendam a nobis** *non putat,* in which the actual usage of the ancients and that which is allowable at the moment are treated as identical. Secondly, the authorities to whom appeal is made belong to the archaic period of the literature. In § 15 Fronto ends the discussion by saying: *ite ergo nunc, et, quando erit otium, quaerite an* **quadrigam** *et* **arenas** *dixerit e illa cohorte dumtaxat antiquiore vel oratorum aliquis vel poetarum, id est classicus assiduusque scriptor, non proletarius.* Gellius comments upon the discussion in words which will bear quoting again: *haec quidem Fronto requirere nos iussit vocabula non ea re, opinor, quod scripta esse in ullis veterum libris existumaret, sed ut nobis studium lectitandi in quaerendis rarioribus verbis exerceret.* With one at least of his hearers Fronto was successful, for Gellius tells us with some pride

that he succeeded in finding *quadrigam* in the Satires of Varro. Manifestly, in both these narratives, though Gellius figures merely as an interested auditor, his own real sentiments are reflected.[1] In the case of *arenae* it is very striking, and at the same time characteristic of the attitude of this whole period, that neither Fronto, Gellius, nor the unknown poet thinks of considering the usage of the writers who come close to their own time. Ovid has the plural repeatedly, as also Statius, Seneca the philosopher, and Gellius himself in xvi. 11. 7, yet none of these men seems to be sufficiently familiar with the works of his more immediate predecessors, or to attach enough importance to them, to quote them as factors in the settlement of the question under discussion.

Since it has been shown, partly by reference to other authors, partly by appeal to Gellius himself, that by the terms *veteres, antiqui, maiores*, and the like, we are to understand the writers of the so-called classical and ante-classical periods, we must next determine to which of these writers our author's admiration was chiefly accorded. Among poets Plautus and Ennius, among orators Cato Censor, stand highest in his estimation. Plautus is mentioned or cited by him in at least thirty-five places, and the quotations cover nearly the whole range of the extant plays. Indeed, it is to Gellius' love of Plautus that we are indebted for the main facts of the playwright's life. See the whole chapter at iii. 3. In § 4 of that chapter it is said of a play called *Boeotia* that *nihil dubitavit Varro quin Plauti foret, neque alius quisquam non infrequens Plauti lector dubitaverit, si vel hos solos ex ea fabula versus cognoverit, qui quoniam sunt, ut de illius more dicam, Plautinissimi, propterea et meminimus eos et ascripsimus*, words which imply plainly that he was himself a *non infrequens Plauti lector*. Cf., too, §§ 6, 7. In vi. 17. 4 Plautus is characterized as *homo linguae atque elegantiae in verbis Latinae princeps;* in xix. 8. 6 as *linguae Latinae decus*. In view of the rela-

[1] Professor Nettleship (*Essays and Lectures*, pp. 252, 253, 256) maintained that Fronto, Favorinus, Castricius Taurus, Sulpicius Apollinaris, or the *quidam noster amicus*, as the case may be, are mere personæ, mere men of straw, introduced to give an attractive setting to the extracts. With the truth or falsity of this view I am not now concerned. But there are two points here that deserve attention. First, if Nettleship is right, Gellius has given in this very matter signal evidence of that artistic skill for the lack of which Nettleship severely criticises him, for in all the passages in which Fronto is introduced his antiquarian leanings are forcibly depicted. Secondly, if Nettleship's view be correct, the two chapters discussed above will be far more to our purpose, for we shall then understand that Gellius is giving his *own* views under an extremely thin disguise.

tion which Macrobius bears to Gellius, it is not surprising to find him saying (Sat. ii. 1. 10): *duos quos eloquentissimos antiqua aetas tulit, comicum Plautum et oratorem Tullium.* See, too, Lorenz' introduction to the *Mostellaria* of Plautus, p. 31, footnote. Ennius is cited by Gellius as an authority in more than forty passages. Gellius' admiration for him may be gathered from the following citations: ii. 29. 20 *hunc Aesopi apologum Q. Ennius in satiris scite admodum et venuste versibus quadratis composuit. Quorum duo postremi isti sunt, quos habere cordi et memoriae operae pretium esse hercle puto;* iii. 14. 5 *Q. Ennium scienter hoc in Annalibus dixisse (Varro) ait;* v. 11. 12 *qualis a Quinto Ennio . . . perquam eleganti vocabulo* **stata** *dicitur;* v. 15. 9; ix. 4. 1 *cum . . . in portu illo inclito spatiaremur, quem Q. Ennius remotiore paulum, sed admodum scito vocabulo* **praepetem** *appellavit;* xx. 10. 4 *tum ego hos versus ex octavo annali absentes dixi, nam forte eos tanquam insigniter praeter alios factos memineram;* xi. 4. 3 *hos versus, cum eam tragoediam verteret, non sane incommode aemulatus est;* xii. 2 where Seneca the philosopher is roughly handled for certain criticisms he had passed upon Cicero and Ennius; xii. 4. 3 (of the verses upon Servilius Geminus) *ad hoc color quidam vetustatis in his versibus tam reverendus est, suavitas tam impromisca tamque a fuco omni remota est, ut mea quidem sententia pro antiquis sacratisque amicitiae legibus observandi, tenendi colendique sint;* xviii. 2. 7.

Judging from frequency of citation as well as from the encomiums heaped upon him, the writer who stood highest in his affections was Cato Censor.[1] Gellius appeals to his authority in over sixty-five places, a single passage often containing two or more quotations from his works. Of the sixty-five passages referred to, the most important for our purpose are these: vi. 3, an elaborate defence of Cato against certain criticisms passed upon one of his speeches by Tullius Tiro (see in particular §§ 52–55); x. 3. 15, 16 *intelleget Catonem contentum eloquentia aetatis suae non fuisse et id iam tum facere voluisse, quod Cicero postea perfecit;* i. 23. 1 *historia . . . dicta scriptaque est a M. Catone . . . cum multa quidem venustate atque luce atque munditia verborum;* xi. 18. 18; xiii. 25. 12; xiv. 2. 21; xvi. 1. 3; xix. 10. 10. It will appear below that Gellius vigorously defends Sallust, himself an admirer of the old writers in general, and of Cato in particular. Finally, Plautus, Ennius, and Cato are often cited together as authorities, as in iv. 7. 14, 15; iv. 7. 2; iii. 14; v. 21. 16; xviii. 9. 6.

[1] Contrast Quint. ii. 5. 21.

Of the other writers whom our author especially esteemed we may mention Cæcilius, Lucilius, Claudius Quadrigarius, Valerius Antias, Varro, Sallust, Cicero, Vergil, Laberius, and Nigidius, all of whom belong to a time long prior to his own day. For Sallust compare x. 20. 10 *Sallustius quoque, proprietatum in verbis retinentissimus;* iii. 1. 6 (Favorinus is the speaker) *Sallustium vel subtilissimum brevitatis artificem;* he is coupled with Cato ii. 17. 7; ix. 12. 8, 9; x. 21. 2; with Plautus ix. 12. 22. Gellius defends him from criticism, iv. 15. 1 *elegantia orationis Sallustii verborumque fingendi et novandi studium cum multa prorsus invidia fuit, multique non mediocri ingenio viri conati sunt reprehendere pleraque et obtrectare. In quibus plura inscite aut maligne vellicant;* ibid. § 6 *haec illi malivoli reprehensores dicunt;* x. 26 as a whole but especially § 1 *Asinio Pollioni . . . et quibusdam aliis, C. Sallustii iniquis, dignum nota visum est.* For Quadrigarius see ix. 13. 4 *Q. Claudius primo annalium purissime atque illustrissime simplicique et incompta orationis antiquae suavitate descripsit;* xv. 1. 4 *Q. Claudi, optumi et sincerissimi scriptoris* (Antonius Iulianus is speaker); xii. 29. 2 where Fronto describes him as *vir modesti atque puri ac prope cotidiani sermonis.* Varro is mentioned and quoted very frequently, always with respect. See xiii. 13. 4 *ego qui tam assiduus in libris M. Varronis fui.* For Lucilius compare xviii. 5. 10 *L., vir adprime linguae Latinae sciens;* so in xvii. 2. 7 of Q. Metellus Numidicus, *caste pureque lingua usus Latina videtur.* In conclusion, it will be useful to compare Gellius' judgment of Piso the Annalist with Cicero's estimate of the same writer. Contrast the *Noctes Atticae* vii. 9. 1 *res perquam pure et venuste narrata a Pisone;* xi. 14. 1 *simplicissima suavitate et rei et orationis L. Piso Frugi usus est in primo annali, cum de Romuli regis vita atque victu scriberet,* with Cicero *De Oratore* 2, §§ 51, 52 *atqui ne nostros contemnas, inquit Antonius, Graeci quoque ipsi sic initio scriptitarunt, ut noster Cato, ut Pictor, ut Piso; erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio;* and the Brutus § 106 (*Piso*) *et orationes scripsit, quae iam evanuerunt et annales sane exiliter scriptos.* On the other hand, though Gellius so constantly has upon his tongue the names of the ante-classical writers, *he never mentions Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, Livy, Iuvenal, Quintilian, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, Martial,* or *Statius,* while the only reference to Horace is to be found in the phrase *Horatianus ille Atabulus* in ii. 22. 25.

In all this love of the Latin of the early period, the style of Gellius is in perfect accord with the æsthetic principles and literary

tendencies of his time. Fronto and Apuleius show the same fondness for all that is archaic in vocabulary and style that marks the *Noctes Atticæ*. Indeed, in this respect they show less taste and moderation than Gellius. On this point see Bähr in Ersch and Gruber's *Allg. Encyk.* part 57, p. 57; Wilkins in *Ency. Brit.* 14, p. 338; Ruhnken's preface to Oudendorp's edition of Apuleius. Before considering in detail the relations between Gellius and Fronto, it will be worth while to trace the growth in Latin literature of this fondness for the writings of an age long past. Sallust's love of the archaic is well known. Cicero himself was criticised by those who favoured the earlier writers, as we see from Tacitus *Dialogus* 22: *Ad Ciceronem venio, cui eadem pugna cum aequalibus suis fuit quae mihi vobiscum est. Illi enim antiquos mirabantur, ipse suorum temporum eloquentiam anteponebat. . . .* Echoes of this conflict would seem to reach us in passages such as *Orator*, §§ 168, 171, 229. See Peterson on Tacitus l.c. Of Asinius Pollio it is said in the *Dialogus* 21: *Asinius quoque, quamquam propioribus temporibus natus sit, videtur mihi inter Menenios et Appios studuisse. Pacuvium certe et Accium non solum tragoediis sed etiam orationibus suis expressit: adeo durus et siccus est.* Due allowance must, of course, be made for the bias of the speaker, yet Quintilian x. 1. 113 says of Pollio *a nitore et iucunditate Ciceronis ita longe abest ut videri possit saeculo prior.* See Peterson's notes. Horace, in the first epistle of the second book, defends the new school of Latin poetry, that school to which Vergil, Varius, and Horace himself belonged, and assails those who decried all contemporary poets in their admiration, real or professed, of the ancients. Mark especially verses 18–27: —

> Sed tuus hic populus, sapiens et iustus in uno
> Te nostris ducibus, te Grais anteferendo,
> Cetera nequaquam simili ratione modoque
> Aestimat, et nisi quae terris semota suisque
> Temporibus defuncta videt, fastidit et odit;
> Sic fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantes
> Quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt, foedera regum
> Vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis,
> Pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatum
> Dictitet Albano Musas in monte locutas.

The tone here may remind us of the cry of the unknown critic in Gellius v. 21. 7 *tibi habeas auctoritates ex Faunorum et Aboriginum saeculo repetitas.* Compare further vv. 50–89 of the epistle. Persius follows in the footsteps of Horace (1, 76–78): —

Est nunc Brisaei quem venosus liber Atti,
Sunt quos Pacuviusque et verrucosa moretur
Antiopa, aerumnis cor luctificabile fulta.

See Conington, Nettleship, and Gildersleeve on the passage. Martial writes in a similar vein (viii. 69): —

Miraris veteres, Vacerra, solos,
Nec laudas nisi mortuos poetas.
Ignoscas petimus, Vacerra: tanti
Non est, ut placeam tibi, perire.

Compare also Martial v. 10: —

Esse quid hoc dicam, vivis quod fama negatur
Et sua quod rarus tempora lector amat?
Hi sunt invidiae nimirum, Regule, mores,
Praeferat antiquos semper ut illa novis.
. . . . . .
Ennius est lectus salvo tibi, Roma, Marone
Et sua riserunt saecula Maeoniden:
Rara coronato plausere theatra Menandro,
Norat Nasonem sola Corinna suum.

Of similar import is Martial xi. 90: —

Carmina nulla probas molli quae limite currunt,
Sed quae per salebras altaque saxa cadunt,
Et tibi Maeonio quoque carmine maius habetur
Lucilei columella, heic situ', Metrophanes;
Attonitusque legis *terrai fructiferai,*
Accius et quidquid Pacuviusque vomunt.

On the last passage Friedländer remarks: "Die Alterthümelei in der Litteratur, die hier verspottet wird, hatte in jener Zeit bereits Boden gewonnen." See also the discussion in Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte* 3^6, pp. 380, 381. Further, with the thought of Mart. v. 10, we may compare Tacitus, *Dialogus* 18: *hoc interim probasse contentus sum, non esse unum eloquentiae vultum, sed in illis quoque quos vocatis antiquos plures species deprehendi, nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est, vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio. Num dubitamus inventos qui prae Catone Appium Caecum magis mirarentur?* See also Seneca *Epp.* 114, 13 *Multi ex alieno saeculo petunt verba, duodecim tabulas loquuntur; Gracchus illis et Crassus et Curio nimis culti et recentes sunt: ad Appium usque et ad Coruncaneum redeunt;* Quint. ii. 5. 21 *Duo autem genera maxime cavenda pueris puto: unum, ne quis eos anti-*

quitatis nimius admirator in Gracchorum Catonisque et aliorum similium lectione durescere velit; fient enim horridi atque ieiuni . . .; Quint. x. 1. 43 *verum antequam de singulis loquar, pauca in universum de varietate opinionum dicendi sunt. Nam quidam solos veteres legendos putant neque in ullis aliis esse naturalem eloquentiam et robur viris dignum arbitrantur, alios recens haec lascivia deliciaeque et omnia ad voluptatem multitudinis imperitae composita delectant* (see Peterson ad loc.). Tacitus apparently found it necessary to coin the word *antiquarius*, which occurs in the *Dialogus* cc. 21, 37, 42. We may compare also Juvenal vi. 451 sqq.:

> Odi
> Hanc ego, quae repetit volvitque Palaemonis artem
> Servata semper lege et ratione loquendi,
> Ignotosque mihi tenet antiquaria versus,
> Nec curanda viris opicae castigat amicae
> Verba; soloecismum liceat fecisse marito:

lines which remind one of Horace Epp. ii. 1. 86, 87; Suetonius *Aug.* 86: *Cacozelos et antiquarios ut diverso genere vitiosos, pari fastidio* (*Augustus*) *sprevit, exagitabatque nonnunquam. . . . Sed nec Tiberio parcit et exsoletas interdum et reconditas voces aucupanti. M. quidem Antonium ut insanum increpat, quasi ea scribentem, quae mirentur potius homines quam intellegant; deinde ludens malum et inconstans in eligendo genere dicendi ingenium eius, addit haec: "Tuque dubitas, Cimberne Annius an Veranius Flaccus imitandi sint tibi, ita ut verbis, quae Crispus Sallustius excerpsit ex Originibus Catonis, utaris?"* and finally Tacitus *Dialogus* 23 *Neminem nominabo,* **genus hominum** *significasse contentus; sed vobis utique versantur ante oculos isti qui Lucilium*[1] *pro Horatio et Lucretium pro Vergilio legunt, quibus eloquentia Aufidi Bassi aut Servilii Noniani ex comparatione Sisennae aut Varronis sordet, qui rhetorum nostrorum commentarios fastidiunt et oderunt, Calvi mirantur. Quos more prisco apud iudicem fabulantes non auditores sequuntur, non populus audit, vix denique litigator perpetitur;* Quint. x. 1. 93 *Lucilius quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores ut eum non eiusdem modo operis auctoribus sed omnibus poetis praeferre non dubitent.*

Evidently from the days of Sallust there was eager strife between the advocates of the old and the new. Yet on the whole, throughout the first century of the empire, the "modern" tendency reigned supreme, and the antiquarians were forced into the background.

[1] Cf. Horace *Sat.* i. 10. 2.

See Teuffel, vol. 2, pp. 4, 5. No doubt Quintilian's attitude toward this question had great weight. Cf. the *Institutiones* x. 1. 88, with Peterson's notes, especially the quotation from Nettleship's article in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. 18, p. 262 sqq. With the loss, however, of the creative faculty in the second century, the tendency towards imitation of the early writers becomes more and more marked, till, supported by the influence of Hadrian, and by the teaching and example of Fronto, it becomes predominant. Compare Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms* 3⁶, 381; Teuffel, 2, p. 192; Hertz *Opuscula Gelliana*, pp. 152 sqq. = *Hermes* 8, 1874, pp. 261 sqq.; Simcox, *History of Latin Literature*, 2, p. 242; Nettleship's *Essays*, pp. 248, 9; Priebe,[1] p. 2; Dziatsko, in his edition of the *Phormio*, p. 20. It was in Hadrian's time too that the archaizing tendency in Greek art was most manifest (Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 348; Mrs. Mitchell's *History of Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 663, 683). So too Arrian wrote his *Indica* in the obsolete Ionic dialect (Mahaffy, *Greek Literature*, 2, 290), and other writers may be cited. Greek inscriptions of the imperial and Christian times often show traces of archaism; see Meisterhans, *Grammatik d. Att. Inschr.*², p. 222.

Of Hadrian, Spartianus (16. 2) says: *amavit praeterea genus vetustum dicendi . . . Ciceroni Catonem, Vergilio Ennium, Sallustio Caelium praetulit.* An interesting account of his literary activity is given by Hertz (*Renn. u. Roc.*, pp. 14 sqq.). The impulse which Hadrian's tastes gave to the study and imitation of the early authors was furthered by the teachings of Fronto, whose labours, begun in Hadrian's time, were continued in the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. To treat of his career at length would be foreign to our purpose. His bias in favour of the archaic will be sufficiently illustrated by a few citations[2] from his writings and those of his distinguished pupils. Compare *De Feriis Aliensibus*, p. 134, *mox, ut te studium legendi incessisset, aut te Plauto expolires aut Accio expleres aut Lucretio delenires aut Ennio incenderes.* See Niebuhr's note on the passage; also the remarks in his preface, pp. xvii. and xxiii. Compare also *Epp. ad M. Antoninum* ii. 3 = p. 98 (Marcus to his teacher) *mitte mihi aliquid quod tibi disertissimum videatur, quod legam, vel tuum, vel Catonis, vel Ciceronis, aut Sallustii, aut Gracchi, aut poetae alicuius . . . etiam si qua Lucretii aut Ennii excerpta habes; De Orationibus*, p. 121, *in primis oratori*

[1] *De M. Cornelio Frontone Imitationem prisci Sermonis latini adfectante.* Particula I. Stettin, 1885.

[2] Niebuhr's edition of Fronto is the only one to which I have had access.

cavendum, ne quod novum verbum ut aes adulterinum percutiat; ut unum et idem verbum vetustate noscatur et novitate delectet; p. 63 Naber (suggested by Teuffel, 2, 216), where Cicero is criticized because *in omnibus eius orationibus paucissima admodum reperias insperata atque inopinata verba quae nonnisi cum studio atque cura atque vigilia atque multa veterum carminum memoria indagantur;* M. Cæsar to Fronto, p. 67, *ego tibi de patrono meo M. Porcio gratias ago, quod eum crebro lectitas. Tu mihi de C. Crispo timeo ut unquam gratias agere possis: nam uni M. Porcio me dedicavi atque despondi;* p. 252, *enim vero fandi agendique laudibus longe praestantissimus omnium Cato Porcius; De Eloquentia,* p. 92; Teuffel, § 355, 5; Hertz, *Renn. und Roc.,* pp. 26 sqq.; Friedländer, *Sitteng. Roms.* 3[6], 381; Bernhardy, p. 840; Hertz, *Vind. Alt. Gell.,* pp. 22, 23; Priebe, part 1, pp. 6 sqq. In part two of his work, Priebe points out that the *De Feriis Aliensibus* is a cento of passages borrowed chiefly from Plautus, Lucretius, and Vergil.

It remains to consider the relation of Gellius to Fronto. Gellius mentions Fronto in several passages. In the first of these, ii. 26. 1, he says: *Favorinus philosophus cum ad M. Frontonem consularem pedibus aegrum visum iret, voluit me quoque ad eum secum ire.* In the course of the conversation which ensues at the house of Fronto, Favorinus asserts that there are various colours which the eye appreciates, but which have not as yet received appropriate names. His remark that the Latin language shows greater poverty in this regard than does the Greek, brings Fronto to the front as an earnest champion of the Latin. It is worth noting that in his argument he appeals to Ennius, Pacuvius, and Vergil.[1] xiii. 29 begins with a quotation from Claudius Quadrigarius, containing the words *mortalibus multis,* to which objection was made. In reply, Fronto defends Quadrigarius as *vir modesti atque puri ac prope cotidiani sermonis,* and continues: *Ego quidem sic existimo, nisi si me* **scriptoris istius omnisque antiquae orationis amor atque veneratio caeco esse iudicio facit,** *longe longeque amplius, prolixius, fusius, in significanda totius prope civitatis multitudine* **mortales** *quam* **homines** *dixisse.* See also §§ 5, 6. The passage xix. 8. 1 is important: *Adulescentulus Romae priusquam Athenas concederem, quando erat a magistris auditionibusque obeundis otium, ad Frontonem Cornelium visendi gratia pergebam sermonibusque eius purissimis bonarumque doctrinarum plenis fruebar. Nec unquam factum est, quotiens eum vidimus loquentemque audivimus,*

[1] See footnote on p. 132, above.

quin rediremus fere cultiores doctioresque. Then follows an account of the discussion to which reference has already been made (p. 131 above). Compare further xix. 10. 1 *Memini me quondam et Celsinum Iulium Numidam ad Frontonem Cornelium, pedes tunc graviter aegrum, ire et visere.* Then follows the famous discussion of the meaning of *praeterpropter.* Here again we must note that the authorities appealed to are Cato, Varro, and Ennius. Finally, in xix. 13. 1 Gellius is found once more in the company of Fronto. These passages, few as they are, are sufficient of themselves to make it clear that Fronto exercised a considerable influence upon Gellius, yet they afford no ground whatever for the statement sometimes made that he was a pupil of Fronto. Indeed, our author's words at xix. 8. 1 are enough to disprove this assertion. Fronto's favourite authors were Cato, Sallust, Plautus, Ennius, and Lucretius. Gellius' tastes were substantially the same. Again, Fronto shows a decided antipathy to Seneca the philosopher (Teuffel, § 298, 1). So Gellius criticises Seneca severely in xii. 2. These considerations show, as we should have expected from Gellius' hero-worshipping nature, that, in common with the men of his time, he was greatly affected by the example and teachings of Fronto. But some important differences between the two men must be noticed. Fronto nowhere mentions Vergil, though it is certain that he was acquainted with the Æneid at least, for several reminiscences of that work occur in his fragments. (See Priebe, part two, pp. 8, 9.) Gellius, on the other hand, repeatedly cites Vergil, from Æneid, Bucolics, and Georgics alike (over eighty citations in all), and accords him high praise; cf. ii. 26. 11; ix. 9. 3; iii. 2. 14; vii. 6; xiii. 27. 2; xvii. 2. 7. On the other hand he not infrequently reproduces criticisms of others on Vergil, and suffers them to pass unchallenged: cf. x. 16, where Iulius Hyginus is cited as pointing out various anachronisms in Verg.; ix. 9. 13 Valerius Probus' famous comparison of *Æn.* i. 498 sqq. with *Odyss.* vi. 102 sqq. Again, Fronto despised the Greeks: cf. *Epp. ad M. Cæs.* i. 6 = p. 31 Nieb.; *ad M. Cæs.* ii. 2. 5 = p. 48; ibid. ii. 4. 20 = p. 56. In this last passage Fronto begs Marcus to revise a Greek letter which he had enclosed for his mother, saying *nolo enim me mater tua ut opicum contemnat.* Gellius, on the contrary, esteemed the Greeks highly. In xiii. 27. 3 Vergil and Homer are compared, to the disadvantage of Vergil; in xvii. 10. 9 sqq. Vergil's description of an eruption of Ætna is characterized as far inferior to Pindar's. In ii. 23. 2, 3 it is said of the Roman comic poets: *Neque, cum legimus eas, nimium sane displicent, quin lepide quoque*

et venuste scriptae videantur, prorsus ut melius posse fieri nihil censeas. Set enim si conferas et componas Graeca ipsa, unde illa venerunt, ac singula considerate atque apte iunctis et alternis lectionibus committas, oppido quam iacere atque sordere incipiunt quae Latina sunt; ita Graecarum, quas aemulari nequiverunt, facetiis atque luminibus obsolescunt. The thought is then worked out in detail in the rest of the chapter. Gellius quotes Æschines, Æschylus, Aristotle (often), Aristophanes, Chrysippus, Euripides, Herodotus, Hesiod, Homer (very often), Plato (often), Plutarch, Sophocles, and Theophrastus. Compare especially xvii. 20, xx. 5. Finally, he frequently employs Greek words, as well as words derived from the Greek and not in common use in other Roman writers.

PART II.: ARCHAISMS OF FORM AND VOCABULARY.

§ 1. *Archaisms of Form.*

THOUGH historians and critics of Latin literature have again and again called attention to the fact that the style of Gellius shows plainly the effects of his study of the early writers, no comprehensive review of the subject has yet been offered. Two treatises on the style of Gellius have come into my hands. The first of these, *De quibusdam sermonis Gelliani proprietatibus observationes*, a dissertation by O. Gorges (Halle, 1883), is extremely unsatisfactory. Hardly any point upon which it touches is treated exhaustively, while that feature of Gellius' style which most concerns us here is almost entirely neglected. It is but just to the author to say that he tells us himself (p. 3) that he publishes his work "id potissimum dolens, quod per temporum angustias rem non absolvere, sed incohare modo mihi licuit." Still, once or twice useful suggestions have been derived from his work. The other treatise referred to is Th. Vogel's *De A. Gellii sermone commentarius* (Zwickaviae, 1862), which gives (generally without comment) lists of words classified according to endings. Words which Vogel thinks were taken by Gellius from the early writers are designated by a peculiar mark. This treatise has been found useful in confirming the collections which I had made independently before it came into my hands. In some instances it supplied examples which had escaped my own observation. Vogel, however, goes astray at times because he fails to distinguish those words which are employed in what we

may call a literary way and those which are merely quoted as illustrative of some point of grammar or criticism. Questions of form and syntax fall entirely outside the scope of Vogel's work. Within the limits of this article, I can set forth only archaisms of form and vocabulary. At some future time I hope to complete the subject by a detailed examination of Gellian syntax, which possesses many interesting and instructive features. In treating of particular points, I shall follow two principles. First, I shall cite from Gellius himself all the instances illustrative of the matter in hand; for my collections will often be found to supplement the lexicon of Lewis and Short, and even in some cases (if I mistake not), such works as Neue's *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache* (as revised by C. Wagener), and Georges' *Lexikon der lateinischen Wortformen*.[1] It is hardly necessary to say that in all things I have followed the text of Hertz. Secondly, in the discussions of individual words which I think were borrowed by Gellius from the authors whose works he read so diligently, I shall aim to set forth all the essential facts in the word's history, either by direct citation of all the passages in which the word occurs, or by a reference to some authority by whom it is discussed. Such treatment is necessary in order to show the grounds upon which I have based my judgments.

In some few instances, the archaic spelling is preserved. Cf. *poeniendas* vi. 3. 54; *poeniendis peccatis* vii. 14. in lemm.; *duas poeniendi causas* vii. 14. 6; *de poeniendis furtis* xi. 18. in lemm.; *poeniendum* xi. 18. 3; *poeniendis* xi. 18. 6; *damnata poenitaque* xii. 7. 7; *poenitur* xx. 1. 7; *de poenienda iniuria* xx. 1. 12; so the noun *poenitio* vii. 14. 4, xi. 1. 2. On the spelling of these words, see Brambach's *Hülfsbüchlein* (p. 125, as translated by McCabe, 1877); Munro on Lucr. i. 29; Georges s.v. **Volgo**, the older form of the adverb (Brambach as above, pp. 18, 154) is found at ii. 20. in lemm.; iv. 6. 9; iv. 9. 9; ix. 7. 1; xi. 18. 13; xiv. 1. 11; xiv. 2. 6; xx. 11. 2. **Volgus** as the noun-form occurs vi. 1. 7; x. 11. in lemm.; xiii. 17. 1; xiv. 3. 3; xv. 9. 3; xix. 14. 3. So, too, *involgare* iv. 9. 9; xi. 7. 1; xx. 5. 7; *pervolgare* iv. 1. 10; v. 10. 3; xii. v. 6; *volgarius* xvii. 3. in lemm.; *voltus* (Bramb., p. 154) xv. 9. 10; *volnus* v. 14. 22. Yet the forms with *u* frequently occur, *e.g. vulgo* xvi. 5. 1; xviii. 4. 6; *vulgus* xx. 5. 7; *vulgarius* i. 22. 2; iii. 16. 18; xii. 10. 6; xiii. 25. 4; xvi. 5. 1; *pervulgatius* vi. 17. 8. **Ecus** = *equus* appears ii. 22. 23; ii. 26. 18.

[1] The former work is cited as *Neue-Wagener*, the latter simply as *Georges*.

In xviii. 5. 11, cited by Georges, Gellius does not use the word himself. It is found there in a discussion as to whether Ennius had written *ecus* or *eques* in a certain passage. Cf. *aecus* iv. 9. 12; *anticus* i. 9. 12; *secuntur* iv. 17. 6; x. 22. 1; xvii. 21. 43; *locuntur* ix. 12. 3; xx. 6. 2. On these spellings, see Brambach, pp. 20, 21; Munro's *Lucr.*, vol. 1. p. 36, and his notes on i. 477; iii. 713; Georges s.vv.; Gellius xviii. 9; Wordsworth *Frag. and Spec.* p. 570.

In the forms of the gerund and gerundive, the ending *undus* not infrequently appears. On this form cf. Bramb. p. 34; Hallidie on Plaut. *Capt.* 117; Ashmore on Ter. *Adel.* 193, 469; Reid's note on *ferundum*, Cic. *Cato Maior*, § 5. Fronto and Apuleius are both fond of this form. Cf. in Gellius, *quindecemvirum sacris faciundis* i. 12. 6; *ius testamenti faciundi* i. 12. 9; *de more autem rituque capiundae virginis* i. 12. 10; *ad iudicium faciundum* ii. 23. 8; *quaerundae pecuniae* iii. 1. 9; *de mancipiis vendundis* iv. 2. 1; *liberum quaerundum* iv. 3. 2; *edundis animalibus* iv. 11. 11; *ioci dicundi* iv. 20. 4; *liberis gignundis* v. 19. 6; *eius potiundi* vi. 1. 8; *in vendundo, lex vendundi* vi. 4. 2; *experiundi* vi. 17. 1; *edundi finis* vii. 13. 1; *laudibus dicundis* x. 18. 5; *iuri dicundo* xiii. 12. 9; *ferundum* xiv. 1. 23; *edundi* xvi. 3. 2; *experiundum* xvi. 6. 1; *edundis venenis* xvii. 16. 1; *decemviros legibus scribundis* xvii. 21. 15 (a chapter containing other archaisms: see on *tempestas*, p. 154, below); *liberum quaerundorum* xvii. 21. 44. In citations made from the older writers we find *faciundum* iii. 7. 6 from Cato; *defendundam* v. 18. 9 from Sempronius Asellio; *aetate in agunda* xviii. 2. 6 from Ennius. Some of the phrases cited above, such as *sacris faciundis, testamenti faciundi, lex vendundi, mancipiis vendundis, iuri dicundo, liberum quaerundum,* have a technical and formulaic character, and so are not properly archaisms. See Corssen 2, 182 sqq.; and a good discussion by P. Schultze, *De Archaismis Sallustianis* (Halle, 1871), pp. 26–28.

So far as inflectional forms are concerned, the language of Gellius presents but few points that call for notice here. In the second declension, we find occasional forms in *os* and *om* instead of *us* and *um*. Cf. *divos Augustus* x. 11. 5 (but *divus Augustus* ix. 11. 10; x. 24. 2); *adoptivos* v. 19. 15; *flavom* ii. 26. 23; *Histros* x. 7. 2; and in two words derived from the Greek, *epitritos, hemiolios* xviii. 14. in lemm.; *Mithridatios* xvii. 6. 6. See Bramb. pp. 18, 26; Quint. 1. 7. 26 *nostri praeceptores seruum ceruumque U et O litteris scripserunt, quia subiecta sibi vocalis in unum sonum coalescere et confundi nequiret; nunc U gemina scribuntur ea ratione quam reddidi.*

In ii. 29. 7 we read *idcirco die crastini . . . fac amicos eas et roges.*

That the form **crastini**, as locative or ablative, was obsolete in his day is evident from what Gellius says in x. 24. 1–3 *die quarto et die quinto . . . ab eruditis nunc quoque dici audio, et qui aliter dicit pro rudi atque indocto despicitur. Sed Marci Tullii aetas ac supra eam non, opinor, ita dixerunt: diequinte enim et diequinti pro adverbio copulate dictum est . . . Satis autem erit perpetuae veterum consuetudinis demonstrandae gratia verba sollemnia praetoris ponere.* See further Lorenz on Plaut. *Most.* 881, and his introduction to that play, p. 31, footnote; Macr. *Sat.* i. 3. 16; i. 4. 20 = Gell. x. 24; Brix-Niemeyer on Plaut. *Menœch.* 1156. In this chapter Gellius had before him, I think, a passage of Ennius. See on *luci* below, and mark especially § 20 of the chapter.

The genitive plural in *um* is found occasionally. Cf. i. 8. 5 *At Lais μυρίας δραχμάς poposcit, hoc facit nummi nostratis denarium decem milia;* i. 16. 9 *quam ob rem id quoque recte et probabiliter dici solitum "mille denarium in arca est";* iii. 17. 1 *decem milibus denarium;* ii. 15. 1 *ad deum prope et parentum vicem;* præf. 23 *deum voluntate;* xiii. 23. 1 *deum immortalium;* xvii. 19. 3 *inclamabat deum atque hominum fidem;* iv. 3. 2 *liberum quaerundum* (an old formula); xii. 1. 7 *liberum alendorum;* xvii. 21. 44 *liberum quaerundorum* (the whole passage practically = iv. 3. 2); ix. 2. 8 *mille nummum;* i. 12. 6 *quindecemvirum sacris faciundis aut septemvirum epulonum;* i. 1. 2 *sescentum pedum;* vi. 14. 8 *talentum quingentum;* iii. 9. 4 *M. Antonio, qui postea triumvirum reipublicae constituendae fuit.* See Cicero *Orator* § 155, with Sandys' notes; Neue 1, 102 sqq.; Neue-Wagener 2, pp. 48–50. It will be noticed that nearly all the words in which this form occurs are just the words in which we should expect to find it. Perhaps the only archaism, then, is the form *liberum.* We have seen above (p. 143) that Gellius borrowed the whole phrase *liberum quaerundum* from some old writer.

Cornum as a neuter noun of the second declension is found three times in the phrase *cornum copiae* i. 8. 2; xiv. 6. 2; xviii. 6. in lemm.; cf. Varro *R. R.* iii. 9. 14; Ter. *Eun.* 775; Lucr. ii. 388; Ov. *Met.* ii. 874; Georges s.v.

In the third declension we must note the old form **luci**, the locative (or ablative, as some maintain) of *lux*, ii. 29. 14 *adferes primo luci falces duas,* whereas just above, in § 13, we find *alia luce orta avis in pastum profecta est;* xi. 18. 8 *si modo luci id fecissent,* where Gellius is evidently reproducing the phraseology of some old law. For numerous exx. of this form, especially in the phrases *primo luci, cum primo luci, luci claro,* see Neue-Wag. 2, 644. Nonius, p. 210,

thinks that *luci* in all these places is in the masc. gender; so, too, Donatus on Ter. *Adel.* 841: *veteres masculino genere dicebant lucem.* The same view has frequently been taken by editors: cf. Hallidie on Plaut. *Capt.* 1008; Tyrrell on *Mil. Glor.* 18; Wordsworth, *Frag. and Spec.* p. 70; but Usener in *N. Jahrb.*, 1878, pp. 76 sqq. considers *luci* to be an old form of the loc. which is used as an indeclinable noun and is combined with neuter adj. See further Wagner's note on Plaut. *Aulul.* 741. In this chapter Gellius has apparently made a prose version of Ennius' translation of Æsop's fable; see § 20 of chapter. For other archaisms in chapter, see on *crastini* and *luci* above, and *fervit* below, p. 146.

Quis, as rel. pron. = *qui* is found iv. 12. 2 *quis eques Romanus equum habere gracilentum aut parum nitidum visus erat*, where Gellius is probably copying some old authority: see § 3 and note that *gracilentus* seems to be archaic for *gracilis*; xiii. 23. 8 *itaque ex Claudiis . . . quis erat egregia atque praestanti fortitudine Nero appellatus est.* See Neue-Wag. 2, 430.

Qui stands in Plautine fashion as the abl. sing. of the rel. pron. in all genders. Cf. i. 13. 11 *opus esset firma atque procera trabe, qui arietem faceret;* xiii. 3. 2 *nihil rationis dici potest, qui necessitudo et necessitas separentur.* See Neue-Wag. 2, 455–7. *Quicum* occurs iv. 1. 5 *eius quicum loquor*, on which cf. Neue-Wag. 2, 465 "In der nachaugusteischen Zeit überwiegt die Verbindung cum quo, cum qua, doch findet sich auch quocum . . . und quicum." The colloquial *quis* = *quibus* occurs ii. 16. 8; iii. 10. 3; iii. 11. 2; x. 27. 3; xii. 5. 2. In iii. 16. 4 whether **hisce** or **hice** be read as nom. plur. (*Caecilii versus hice sunt*), the form is archaic: see Neue-Wag. 2. 416.

Aliae is gen. fem. of *alius* ii. 28. 1 *cuius aliae rei causa;* xvii. 9. 3 *ut in scripto quidem alia aliae locum et nomen teneret;* dative in ix. 4. 8 *nulli aliae causae obnoxia.* See Munro on Lucr. iii. 918 and Neue-Wag. 2, 534, 536. So **alterae** appears as dat. vii. 7. 1 *alterae post mortem, Taraciae autem vivae . . . honores . . . habiti sunt.* Neue-Wag. 2, 539. **Nulli** as gen. occurs in the phrase *homo nulli rei* ix. 2. 6; xv. 9. 11; *nulli rei esse* xiii. 31. 3; *nulli pretii* xvii. 6. 3; *nulli rei* in Cato, p. 85, 7, Jordan's edit. Cf. Neue-Wag. 2, 527.

Passing now to a review of the verb-forms, we mark first the infin. **viderier** iii. 7. 8. Gellius is here probably reproducing Cato: see the whole chapter. **Siet** occurs xx. 6. in lemm., and **edint** xx. 8. 7. See Kiessling on Horace *Epod.* iii. 3, and for a good collection of exx. Georges s.vv., who, however, makes no mention of either of these passages of Gellius.

Fervit is found ii. 29. 10, a chapter in which we have already noted two archaisms: see on *crastini* and *luci* above p. 144. Cf. Munro on Lucr. ii. 41; Conington on Verg. *Georg.* i. 456; Quint. i. 6. 7 *si quis antiquos secutus fervere brevi media syllaba dicat, deprehendatur vitiose loqui.*

Gestibat is read xv. 2. 1 with which we may compare *gestibant* Plaut. Asin. 315; also **insilibat** ix. 11. 7, and several times in Apuleius. Fronto has *impertibant.* Cf. Lorenz on Plaut. *Most.* 997 "Dagegen finden sich Imperfecte wie *gestibam* (As. 315), *venibam* (Ter. Phorm. 652) nicht blos bei den Dramatikern, sondern auch ziemlich zahlreich bei den daktylischen Dichtern (und den Archaisten). . . ."; Dziatsko on Ter. *Phorm.* 529.

Quita est from *queo* xx. 1. 52 *saevitia ista poenae contemni potest;* Ter. Hec. 572; Georges. s.v.; Munro on Lucr. i. 1045. Gellius freely uses forms of both *nequeo* and *queo,* following the practice of the old writers. Cf. *quimus* i. 2. 6; *queunt* præf. 1; v. 16. 2; xviii. 14. 6; *quibat* v. 9. 1; xvii. 9. 13; *queas* i. 20. 9; xv. 9. 7; *queat* ii. 6. 7; iii. 6. 2; xvii. 5. 1; *quiret* i. 8. 4; xv. 10. 2; xx. 1. 30; *quiverit* (subj.) v. 6. 14; *quisse* ii. 10. 2; vi. 1. 3; xv. 1. 6; xvi. 19. 22; *nequivit* vi. 3. 3; *nequiverunt* ii. 23. 3; xvii. 10. 6; *nequiveris* (indic.) xv. 31. 4; *nequiret* ii. 23. 22. So **aias** xvi. 2. 1, 5 seems archaic. See Georges. For other archaisms in xx. 1, see on *poenire* above p. 142, and *ne . . . quoque* below p. 170.

§ 2. *Archaisms of Vocabulary.*

When we begin to examine the vocabulary of Gellius in detail, we notice at once the wide difference between his theory and his practice. Twice (i. 10; xi. 7) he rebukes most severely the use of archaic and obsolete words, and in the latter passage he condemns also the employment of new words. Yet his pages are full of *ἅπαξ εἰρημένα* and words which he seems to have coined. I have collected nearly two hundred *ἅπαξ εἰρημένα,* about forty *voces Gellianae,* and many other words coined by Gellius and adopted by later authors like Ammianus Marcellinus. Again, we find him explicitly characterizing certain words or phrases as obsolete in his own day, though common *apud veteres,* but elsewhere using these very words and phrases himself. Instances of this are *intolerans, privus, ne . . . quoque = ne . . . quidem, cumprimis,* discussed below pp. 158, 160, and *crastini* above p. 144. Seldom has a writer departed more widely from his own theories. Under the head of archaisms

of vocabulary, I shall include (1) words which Gellius seems to have borrowed, consciously or unconsciously, from the early writers, and (2) peculiarities in the use of words (such as changes of gender, or the substitution of an older by-form), which seem traceable ultimately to the same source.

1. *Nouns borrowed from Early Writers.*

Acritudo x. 27. 1 *in litteris memoria exstat, quod par quondam fuit vigor et acritudo amplitudoque populi Romani atque Poeni.* Cf. Attius 466 Ribb.; Apul. *Met.*[1] ix. p. 595. In xiii. 3. 2, while maintaining that there is no difference in meaning between *necessitudo* and *necessitas*, Gellius says: *sicut autem nihil quicquam interest,* **suavitudo** *an* **suavitas, sanctitudo** *an* **sanctitas, acerbitudo** *an* **acerbitas, acritudo,** *an, quod Accius in Neoptolemo scripsit,* **acritas,** *ita nihil rationis dici potest, qui* **necessitudo** *et* **necessitas** *separentur.* Again, xvii. 2. 19, after quoting from Claudius Quadrigarius the words *sanctitudo fani,* he proceeds: *sanctitas quoque et sanctimonia non minus Latine dicuntur, sed nescio quid maioris dignitatis est verbo sanctitudo sicuti M. Cato . . . duritudinem* (ἅπ. εἰρ.) *quam duritiam dicere gravius putavit.* Now, so far as we can judge from the extant specimens of Latin, *acerbitas* is common, especially in Cicero, while *acerbitudo* is known only from Gellius' casual mention of it in the argument given above. *Suavitudo,* again, is rare, and mainly ante-classical, as compared with the classical *suavitas.* The relation of *sanctitudo* and *sanctitas* is precisely similar. So Gellius has *vastitudo* v. 14. 9, which is ante- and post-classical as against the classical *vastitas; assuetudo* xi. 18. 17, a word unknown to Cicero or Cæsar, though found several times in both Livy and Tacitus; *claritudo* vi. 5. 1, for which Cicero always writes *claritas.* Sallust, another lover of archaisms, prefers *claritudo Bell. Iug.* ii. 4; vii. 4; and *necessitudo Cat.* xxi. 3; xxxiii. 5. An examination of the passages cited by Lewis and Short, s.vv. *necessitudo* and *necessitas* will show that Gellius is wrong in asserting that these words are indistinguishable in meaning. Nouns in *tudo* were freely coined by the early writers. In Pacuvius, *prolixitudo* 124 Ribb., and *temeritudo* 149 are ἅπαξ εἰρημένα. *Honestitudo* for *honestas* is found only in Attius 16, 501; *macritudo,* read by Weise, Ussing, and Hallidie, in Plaut.

[1] In citing particular passages of Apuleius, I give the work and book, then the page according to the Delphin Edition, published by Valpy at London, in 1825. I have done this in order to make citations at first hand.

Capt. 135, as nearer the MSS. than *aegritudo* (Brix, Fleckeisen) is ἅπ. εἰρ. *Gracilitudo* ἅπ. εἰρ. Att. 88; *hilaritudo*, found only in Plautus; *sorditudo* ἅπ. εἰρ. in Plaut. *Pœn.* v. 2. 10; *taetritudo* ἅπ. εἰρ. in Att. 556; *tarditudo* for *tarditas* Plaut. *Pœn.* iii. 1. 29, Att. 69; *desertitudo* in Pacuv. p. 136 Ribb., all belong to the ante-classical period. *Habitudo, partitudo, albitudo, sanctitudo, poenitudo, severitudo, suavitudo* are found only in very early or in late writers. See Roby, § 847; Schultze, *De Arch. Sallust.* pp. 62, 63.

Aerumna, vii. 1. 1 *aerumnarum et malorum.* Cf. Quint. viii. 3. 26 *Aerumnas*[1] *quid opus est? tanquam parum sit, si dicatur quod horridum.* Sallust has the word three times: *Cat.* li. 20; *Bell. Iug.* xiii. 22; *Hist.* ii. 21. Persius, i. 78, complaining of the false literary taste of the times, says: *sunt quos Pacuviusque et verrucosa moretur Antiopa, aerumnis cor luctificabile fulta.* Here *aerumna* and *luctificabile* seem intended to hit off the archaic style of the persons at whom the criticism is aimed. Aside from Cicero, who uses it several times in order to designate by one term the many modifications and shades of mental suffering, and Sallust (as quoted above), the word is hardly found in prose before Gellius (followed by Apuleius), and Amm. Marc. xiii. 6. 3 *post multiplices bellorum aerumnas.* Petronius 48 does indeed write *aerumnas Herculis*, but the phrase has a proverbial ring: cf. Cic. *De Fin.* ii. 118; Plaut. *Pers.* 2; *Epid.* 179 R.; Juv. x. 361. Schultze (*De Arch. Sall.* p. 47), calling attention to the frequent occurrence of *aerumna* in Cicero, denies that its use by Sallust is an archaism. But with Gellius the case is different. During the two centuries that elapsed between Sallust and Gellius the Latin language underwent many changes. Many words and expressions frequent in the pages of Sallust and his contemporaries were completely obsolete by the year 150 A.D. (Cf. Seneca, *Epp.* vi. 6.)

Alimonia, xii. 1. 9 *filium proprii atque consueti atque cogniti sanguinis alimonia privare;* xvii. 15. 5 *missoque omni naturalis alimoniae fundamento;* Plaut. *Pers.* 1. 2. 1; Varro ap. Non. 237 s.v. *altum;* Apul. in four passages; Macr. *Sat.* v. 11. 16; vii. 4. 22; vii. 5. 7.

Ambulacrum, i. 2. 2 *longis ambulacris et mollibus;* iii. 1. 7 *in eodem ambulacro;* Plaut. *Most.* 756, with Lorenz' note; *Most.* 817. The classical word is *ambulatio.*

Bucetum, xi. 1. 1 *Timaeus . . . et M. Varro . . . terram Italiam de Graeco vocabulo appellatam scripserunt, quoniam boves Graeca*

[1] It should be noted that Zumpt conjectured *aerumnosum*, which Halm approved.

vetere lingua ἰταλοὶ *vocitati sint, quorum in Italia magna copia fuerit, bucetaque in ea terra gigni pascique solita sint complurima.* Cf. Varro *L. L.* v. 164. In Lucan *Phars.* ix. 185 the reading wavers between *buceta* and *buxeta.* I think it likely that Gellius took the word, perhaps unconsciously, from the passage of Varro to which he is alluding.

Canalicula, xvii. 11. 2 *duas esse canaliculas quasi quasdam vel fistulas.* Two things show that our author was sensible of the fact that he was employing a rare word: (1) *quasi quasdam,* and (2) the care with which he defines *canaliculas* by *fistulas.* The feminine diminutive seems to be found only here and in Lucil. ap. Non. 198. 7.

Canicula as a term of abuse, iv. 20. 3 *qui iurabat cavillator quidam et canicula et nimis ridicularius fuit,* where we may note that *ridicularius,* too, seems archaic. See below, p. 160. As a term of abuse *canicula* is said of a woman, Plaut. *Curc.* 598. So the use of *canis* as a term of reproach would seem to have been confined to plebeian Latin; cf. Petr. 74; Ter. *Eun.* 803; Plaut. *Most.* 41; *Men.* 718; Friedländer on Petronius *l.c.*

Castus (for *castimonia*), x. 15. 1 *caerimonia impositae flamini Diali multae, item castus multiplices, quos in libris qui de sacerdotibus publicis compositi sunt, item in Fabii Pictoris librorum primo scriptos legimus*; Næv. and Varr. ap. Non. 197. From § 2 of this chapter it is clear that Gellius derived this word, as well as others that occur in the chapter, from early writers. See below, on *classis, fertum, rica.*

Classis = *exercitus pedester,* i. 11. 3 *cum procinctae igitur classes erant et instructa acies;* x. 15. 4 (quoted from some old author; see remarks on *castus* just above) *classem procinctam, id est, exercitum armatum videre,* where we note that Gellius feels called upon to define the phrase; Verg. *Æn.* vii. 716 and Conington's note; Paul. ex Fest. s.v. *opima* 189, 13; 56, 3; Weiss. on Livy iv. 34. 6. Other archaisms in i. 11 are *inceptare* and *pone* = *post.*

Declinatus for the common *declinatio,* x. 11 in lemm. *praecox declinatum praecocis faciat, non praecoquis;* Varr. *L. L.* ix. 34, 51, 53.

Discerniculum, xvii. 15. 4 *duas species ellebori esse discerniculo coloris insignes;* Lucil. ap. Non. 35 (with a very different meaning, as = *acus quae capillos mulierum ante frontem dividit*). With the Lucilian use of the word, cf. Varr. *L. L.* v. 129.

Disparilitas, præf. 3 *d. rerum;* vi. 3. 47 *d. collationis;* Varr. *L. L.* x. 36.

Esus, iv. 1. 20 *quae esui et potui forent;* Varr. *R. R.* i. 60; id. *Men. Sat.* 262: Georges s.v.

Fabulus, a diminutive of *faba* iv. 11. i.; iv. 11. 10; Plaut. *Stich.* 690; Cato *R. R.* 70. 1; Varro *R. R.* i. 31. 4.

Facetia in the sing. iii. 3. 3 *adductus filo atque facetia sermonis;* Plaut. *Stich.* 727; Apuleius.

Fertum, x. 15. 4 *cum strue atque ferto;* Cato *R. R.* 134, 2; 141, 4; Pers. ii. 48, with Jahn's note. Throughout this chapter Gellius is reproducing very largely the words of another, probably Fabius Pictor. See on *castus*, above.

Fictura (of word-formation), x. 5. 3; Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 1189 with Lorenz' note; *Trin.* 365 and Brix-Niemeyer *ad loc.*

Fidicina, i. 11. in lemm. We have already noticed an archaic phrase in this chapter: see on *classis* above, p. 149. Often in Plautus and Terence. To citations in Lewis and Short, add ref. to the Periocha of Ter. *Adelph.* 7.

Finis is found in the feminine gender six times: i. 3. 16 *quatenus quaque fini dari amicitiae venia debeat;* iv. 1. 6 *indigeo discere, quid sit penus et qua fini* ("termination") . . . *dicatur;* i. 3. 30 *hac fini ames;* xiii. 21. 9 *his tum verbis et hac fini* ("with these concluding remarks"); iii. 16. 20 *cum . . . tempus ipsius partionis nono aut decimo mense definiret neque id tamen semper eadem esse fini dixisset;* xiv. 1. 14 *quae tamen finis observationis fuit. qua fini* is found in Cato and Varro. Nonius, p. 205, after remarking *finem masculino genere dicimus*, quotes exx. of the fem. from Lucretius (who always makes it fem.: see Munro on i. 107), Attius, Varro (bis), Cælius, Sisenna, Cassius Hemina, and Vergil *Æn.* iii. 145. In *Æn.* v. 384 *quae finis standi*, three MSS. have *qui*, three others *quis*; in iii. 145 two of Ribbeck's cursives give *quem*; in ii. 554 *haec finis Priami fatorum*, several MSS. exhibit *hic*, where, however, *haec* is confirmed by Gell. xiii. 21. 12. Cf. also *Æn.* xii. 793. Very likely in these passages Vergil followed the practice of Lucretius. Horace has the fem. *Epod.* 17. 36. To count Hor. *Carm.* ii. 18. 30 as an ex. of the fem., as Georges does, is not altogether fair; for if *fine* there be separated from *destinata*, there is nothing to show the gender, and in the absence of any special reason we must regard it as masc. See Kiessling's note. The fem. again is found in Cicero twice in the letters, once elsewhere. Cf. finally Cato ap. Gell. vi. 3. 29, and Weiss. on Livy iv. 2. 4. For similar changes of gender in Gellius, see on *lac*, *specus*, *torquis*, and *uterum* below.

Gloriae = "boasts" i. 2. 6 *has ille inanis glorias cum flaret;* Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 22 with Lorenz' note.

Ingratis, xvii. 1. 7 *ea ingratis nostris vi ac necessitate naturae nobis*

accidant, where *ingratis* would seem to be a substantive. If so, we must correct Neue-Wagener 2, 608: "Die substantivische Natur des Wortes finden wir nur im alten Latein, so *tueis ingratieis* Plaut. Merc. 2, 4. 11 (479) und vobis invitis et *amborum ingratiis* una libella liber possum fieri Casin. 2, 5. 7." At any rate, the word, even as adverb, is mainly confined to the ante-classical writers and to Apuleius, Fronto and Gellius. See Neue-Wag. 2, 609: Lorenz on Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 449.

Intemperies, i. 23. 11 *quae illa intemperies . . . vellet;* xviii. 7. 4 *intemperiem istam, quae μελαγχολία dicitur;* i. 17. 2[1] *has eius intemperies . . . demiratus;* præf. 19 *intemperiarum negotiorumque.* This last plural form is found Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 434 (see Lorenz' note); *Aulul.* 71, 634; *Epid.* 475. The plural, then, would seem to be confined to Plautus, Cato, and Gellius.

Lac. An accus. masc. form is given by Hertz xii. 1. 17 *praesertim si ista quam ad praebendum lactem adhibetis aut serva aut servilis est. . . .* Lewis and Short wrongly say that Hertz reads *lacte.* This masc., though not at all frequent, is nevertheless well attested. See the examples in Georges. Further, we may compare the form *lacte*, cited by Non. 483 from Ennius, Cæcilius, Hemina, and Varro, and found also in Plautus, Cato, and Petronius. Though the masc. form does not appear in any writer earlier than Petronius, we are justified in regarding it as due either to the archaizing tendency, or to the influence of the *sermo plebeius.* Indeed, it is often difficult to determine to which of these influences a given usage in Gellius is due. This difficulty arises from the fact that, as it is characteristic of the plebeian speech, in English, for example, as well as in Latin, to preserve archaisms in vocabulary and syntax, the two influences referred to are often alike in their effects. But, on the whole, since we know how addicted Gellius was to the study of the writers of the early period, we are entitled, I think, to attach greater weight to this point, and to regard correspondences between his language and that of the comic poets and their contemporaries as due in the main rather to his archaizing tendencies than to the influence of the *sermo plebeius.* Changes of gender are characteristic both of Plautus and of the plebeian speech. See Tyrrell on Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 18, and Friedländer's note on *caelus* in Petron. 39.

[1] Cf. however, Nonius, p. 493. 4: *Intemperia pro intemperantia, apud veterem auctoritatis obscurae:* "*has intemperias in maritum.*" Here Nonius is probably borrowing from Gellius: see Hertz *Opuscula Gelliana*, p. 132 = *Jahrb. für Philol.* 85, 1862, p. 789.

Lorea, x. 23. 2 *bibere autem solitas ferunt loream*; Cato *R. R.* 25. In Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 883, Ritschl conjectured *loream*; Tyrrell, *morium*; Lorenz accepted Gulielmus' *oram*. In writing this chapter, Gellius undoubtedly had in mind, or actually in hand, copies of early authors *qui de victu atque cultu populi Romani scripserunt* (§ 1). Of these he specifies Cato in § 4. From some of these authors, probably, he borrowed *lorea*. Many of the words in my lists are reproduced in like manner, consciously or unconsciously, from the writers whom Gellius happened to be reading. Examples are *bucetum, castus, fertum, luci, crastini, classis, procinta, pavus, liberum quaerundum*. That Gellius' mind was a veritable storehouse of words, phrases, and whole passages of the early writers, is evinced by what he says in ii. 29. 20; x. 25; xx. 10. 4; xix. 7. 2, and elsewhere.[1]

Navita = *nauta* xvi. 9., 8, 11, 13, 15, 19, 22; in prose elsewhere only in Cato and Apuleius. See Georges.

Nigror, ii. 26. 14 *nigrore multo inustus;* Lucr. iii. 39; Lucil. ap. Non. p. 515 s.v. *minutim;* Pacuv. 412.

Nutricatio, xii. 1. 5 *munus nutricationis grave ac difficile;* Apul.; Varro *R. R.* i. 44. 4.

Offucia, xiv. 1. 2 *id praestigiarum atque offuciarum genus commentos esse homines aeruscatores;* Plaut. *Most.* 264 ("face-wash"); *Capt.* 656 (= "tricks," as in Gellius).

Oria, x. 25. 5; Plaut. *Rud.* 910 (cited by Non. 533); *Rud.* 1020. See above on *lorea*.

Oriola, dimin. of *oria* x. 25. 5; Plaut. *Trin.* 942. See on *lorea* above.

Partio, iii. 16. 9 *antiquos autem Romanos Varro dicit non recipisse huiuscemodi quasi monstruosas raritates, sed nono aut decimo, neque praeter hos aliis, partionem mulieris secundum naturum fieri existimasse*, from which passage it seems likely that Gellius got the word from Varro, probably from the *antiquitates rerum divinarum*: see § 6; iii. 16. 20; x. 2. 1; Varro *R. R.* iii. 9. 4; Afran. ap. Non. 217; Plaut. *Truc.* i. 2. 93.

Pausa, xix. 5. 4 *cum bibendae nivis pausa fieret nulla;* used by Accius, Ennius, Lucilius, Lucretius: see Non. 158; Munro on Lucr. i. 747; Stange *De Arnobii Oratione*, p. 5 (Saargemund, 1893).

Pavus, as a by-form of *pavo* vi. 16. 5. Gellius is evidently repro-

[1] In the lists in x. 25. 2. 5, five words appear, as noted above, p. 128, which are known to us only from Gellius and the old writers. These are not strictly archaisms, as they are merely quoted.

ducing Varro; for, as Bücheler points out (*Sat. Men.* 403), this paragraph can easily be reduced to metrical form. Other exx. in Georges.

Praeverbium for *praepositio;* vi. 7. 5; Varro *L. L.* vi. 38. 82.

Proloquium, v. 11. 9, as a term. tech. of logic, *prol. disiunctivum*; xvi. 8. 2 where *Commentarius de proloquiis L. Aelii* is given as the title of a work by Varro; xvi. 8. 8 *quidquid ita dicitur plena atque perfecta verborum sententia, ut id necesse sit aut verum aut falsum esse, id a dialecticis ἀξίωμα appellatum est, a Varrone, sicuti dixi, proloquium, a M. autem Cicerone pronuntiatum.*

Porculus, iv. 11. 16 *porculis quoque minusculis et haedis tenerioribus victitasse;* Plaut. *Men.* 315; *Rud.* 1170. Two other words in this short sentence will be discussed below: *minusculis, victitasse.*

Prolubium, v. 10. 12 *maius mihi in ista victoria prolubium est;* xvi. 19. 13 *feros et immanes navitas prolubium tamen audiendi subit;* Accius, Novius, Laberius, Cato, and Varro ap. Non. 64; Ter. *Adel.* 985 with Dziatsko's note; Cæcil. 91 and Ribbeck's note.

Prosumia, according to x. 25. 5, is one of many names of vessels *in veterum libris,* yet in extant Latin it is found only in Cæcil. ap. Non. 536 (vss. 1, 110 Ribb.); cf. Paul. ex. Fest. 226, 4. See on *lorea* above.

Rica, vii. 10. 4 *caput rica velatus;* x. 15. 28, where Gellius is reproducing the words of some one else; see on *castus* and *lorea* above. Cf. Plautus, Novius, Turpilius, and Lucilius ap. Non. 539; Paul. ex Fest. 277. 5; Fest. 289. 9; Plaut. *Epid.* 232; Varro *L. L.* v. 130.

Rumex, x. 25. 2; Lucil. ap. Fest. 270. 16. See on *lorea* above.

Rupex, xiii. 9. 5 *rupices et agrestes;* Tert. several times; Lucil. ap. Fest. 329. 30.

Saviatio, xviii. 2. 8 *saviationes puerorum et puellarum.* In Plaut. *Bacch.* 116, 120, *Pseud.* 63 (65) *suavisaviatio* occurs, but in *Pseud. l.c.* the line is bracketed by some; see Lorenz' critical note. Gellius writes the verb *saviari,* iii. 15. 3, which occurs in Cicero's letters, while *dissuavior* appears in a letter from Q. Cicero to Tiro *Fam.* xvi. 27. 2. The noun *suavium* is mainly ante- and post-classical. An archaism probably of the *sermo plebeius.* See on *lac* above.

Scitamenta, xviii. 8. 1 = "daintinesses, prettinesses of style"; Plaut. *Men.* 210 *aliquid scitamentorum de foro obsonarier;* in the Plautine sense Apul. *Met.* x. p. 681; Macr. *Sat.* vii. 14. 1.

Specus is feminine v. 14. 8 *specum quandam remotam latebrosamque*; v. 14. 19 *ad eandem specum*; Enn. Annal. vs. 17, cited by Serv. on *Æn.* vii. 568, Non. 223, and Prisc. vi. 75, p. 259 Hertz. Non. *l.c.*

also cites a verse from the *Niptra* of Pacuvius (= vs. 252 Ribb.); Fest. 343 cites the *Chrysa* of Pacuv. (vs. 99 Ribb.), and remarks, *specus feminino genere pronuntiabant antiqui.* In G. ii. 10. 4 *cellas quasdam et specus* the gender is not clear.

Symbola, vii. 13. 12; Plaut. and Ter. The meaning of the word is explained by § 2 of the chapter: *cum domum suam nos vocaret, ne omnino, ut dicitur, immunes et asymboli veniremus, coniectabamus ad cenulam non cuppedias ciborum, sed argutias quaestionum.* For *asymbolus* see below, p. 156.

Tempestas in the sense of *tempus* = "time, point of time, period of time," is of frequent occurrence. Cf. iii. 15. 4 *qua tempestate apud Cannas exercitus populi Romani caesus est;* vii. 17. 2 *eos libros . . . multis post tempestatibus . . . referendos Athenas curavit;* xv. 11. 5 *qua tempestate Epictetus . . . Roma decessit;* xvii. 21. 17 *qua tempestate . . . Tubertus Romae dictator fuit;* xvii. 21. 20 *ea fere tempestate;* xvii. 21. 38 *ea tempestate;* same phrase xvii. 21. 17, xx. 5. 7; xx. 1. 31 *in ea temp.;* xvii. 3. 1 *multis post Ilium captum tempestatibus;* xvii. 21. 15 *per eas tempestates;* xvii. 21. 36 *isdem fere tempestatibus.* Sallust, too, frequently employs the word in this sense; *e.g., Cat.* xvii. 7; xxii. 1; xxiv. 3; xxxvi. 4; *Bell. Iug.* iii. 1; viii. 1; xxx. 4. See Schultze, *De Arch. Sall.* pp. 77, 78. Often in Livy; see Weiss. on i. 5. 2. Also in Quint. Curt. iii. 1. 2; iv. 2. 11; vi. 2. 15; Macr. *Sat.* i. 3. 14; Pacuv. ap. Cic. *De Oratore* iii. § 219; Non. p. 407, who cites Sallust, Lucilius, and Pacuvius. See further Cic. *De Oratore* iii. §§ 152, 153 (a passage of prime importance, but too long to quote here), with Wilkins' notes; Lorenz on Plaut. *Most.* 18.

Torquis is feminine ix. 13. 3 *causam cognomenti fuisse accepimus torquis ex auro induvies, quam ex hoste, quem occiderat, detractam induit.* In §§ 7 to 20 Gellius gives at length Quadrigarius' account of the famous fight between Manlius Torquatus and a gigantic Gaul. In this description, § 18, we have, "Ubi eum evertit, caput praecidit, torquem detraxit eamque sanguinolentam sibi in collum imponit." This whole sentence is quoted by Nonius[1] 228. 9. Gellius' words, *quam ex hoste . . . detractam induit,* show that he had Quadrigarius' account in mind. Other exx. of the fem. in Georges from Varro, Lævius, Propertius, Apuleius, and Ammianus Marcellinus.

Trifax, x. 25. 2; Enn. ap. Fest. 367. 7 = *Annal.* 524 Vahlen. See on *lorea* above.

[1] Hertz (*Opuscula Gelliana,* p. 124 = *Jahrb. f. Philol.* 1862, p. 784) thinks that Nonius borrowed here from Gellius, not from Claudius direct.

Uterum, a neuter form of *uterus*, appears in iii. 16. 1 *postquam mulieris uterum semen conceperit.* Nonius 229 cites as exx. of neuter, Plaut. *Aul.* 683; Turpilius, from the *Philopator* (vs. 179 Ribb.); and Afran. from the *Vopiscus* (346). It is found also in Apuleius. Wagner's note on *Aulul. l.c.* requires correction.

Vastitudo, v. 14. 9 *corporis impetu et vastitudine;* Att. ap. Non. 184 = 455 Ribb.; Pacuv. ap. Non. 152 = 314 Ribb.; also in an old prayer in Cato *R. R.* 141. 2. See on *acritudo*, above.

Vindicia occurs in the sing. xx. 10. 7. Gorges, p. 13, considers this use an archaism, referring to Fest. 376. 25 (a passage very badly mutilated, yet preserving a fragment of the Twelve Tables) *si vindiciam falsam tulit* (given by Wordsworth *Frag. and Spec.* p. 264: see his note on p. 538). In § 1 of the chapter we have the more usual plural.

2. *Adjectives borrowed from the Early Writers.*

Amasius, vi. 8. 1 *venerios et amasios;* xix. 9. 9 same phrase; Plaut. *Truc.* iii. 1. 13; *Cas.* 590.

Arbitrarius, x. 4. 3 *verba . . . naturalia* (*φύσει*) *magis quam arbitraria* (*θέσει*); xiv. 1. 5 *coniectari pauca quaedam . . . nullo scientiae fundo concepto, sed fusa et vaga et arbitraria;* xviii. 10. 10 *σφυγμὸς autem est motus et remissio in corde et arteria naturalis, non arbitraria;* xix. 1. 5 *non voluntatis sunt neque arbitrariae.* Cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 372 *hoc quidem profecto certumst, non est arbitrarium.* The abverb *arbitrario* occurs Plaut. *Pœn.* 790 R. *certo, haud arbitrario.* Gellius exhibits a great fondness for adjectives terminating in *arius*, using about twenty-five in all, of which *manifestarius, praesentarius, ridicularius, singularius, vulgarius*, seem to have been borrowed by him from ante-classical writers and will be discussed below. Fronto and Apuleius also employ many adjectives with the same ending.

Aspernabilis, xi. 3. 1 *res minutas et hominibus non bene eruditis aspernabiles;* xvi. 8. 16 *taetra et aspernabilis;* xx. 1. 10 *non levis existimator neque aspernabilis populus Romanus;* Att. 555. Here, again, we seem to trace an archaism of the *sermo plebeius:* see on *lac* above, p. 151. Lorenz on Plaut. *Pseud.* 933 cites from Plautus *impetrabilis, utibilis, adiutabilis, incogitabilis, conducibilis, perplexabilis, excruciabilis,* "und noch etwa 15 andre *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα.*" See, too, Brix on *Capt.* 56. Adverbs, too, from such adjectives are common in Plautus. Munro on Lucr. vi. 1176 remarks that adverbs in *biliter* "seem to have been common in popular language: the scrib-

blings on the walls of Pompeii show not only *amabiliter*, but also *fratrabiliter*, *incurabiliter*, *irrumabiliter*, *festinabiliter*, and one in n. 2138." In Pers. i. 78 *luctificabile* seems intended to hit off the archaic style of those at whom Persius aims his criticisms. See on *aerumna* above, p. 148. With Gellius, however, conscious imitation of what he found in the old writers probably had as much, if not more, influence than the *sermo plebeius*. Ἅπαξ εἰρημένα in Gellius are *inlatibilis* i. 20. 9; *impeccabilis* xvii. 19. 6; *imprensibilis* xi. 5. 4; *inadulabilis* xiv. 4. 3; *incongelabilis* xvii. 8. 16; *indeprecabilis* i. 13. 3; *indissimulabilis* x. 22. 24; *obsequibilis* ii. 29. 12; *vocabilis* xiii. 21. 14; *placabiliter* vi. 3. 19; *tractabiliter* vii. 2. 8. He seems also to have coined *delectabiliter* xiii. 24. 17; xv. 1. 1; *inconibilis* v. 3. 4; *inopinabilis* xi. 18. 1; 17. 9. 18; 17. 12. 1; *insensibilis* xvii. 10. 17. *Indeclinabilis* vii. 2. 1 is post-classical; *cruciabilis* iii. 9. 7 is rare.

Asymbolus, vii. 13. 2; Ter. *Phorm.* 339. See on *symbola* above.

Atrior, ii. 26. 14; ii. 30. 11; Plaut. *Pœn.* 1290. See on *ignarissimus* below.

Cognibilis, xx. 5. 9 in evident imitation of the phrase quoted in § 13 from Cato.

Complusculus, præf. 15; ii. 21. 1 *c. sectatores;* vi. 11. 16 *c. verba;* xviii. 2. 2; xviii. 13. 2; Plaut. *Rud.* 131; Ter. *Hec.* 177. *Complusculè* is ἅπ. εἰρ. xvii. 2. 15. So *plusculus* ix. 14. 6 *conquisitis veteribus libris plusculis;* iv. 17. in lemm.; x. 29. in lemm.; xiii. 2. 2; xix. 9. 7; Ter. *Phorm.* 665; Plaut. *Pers.* 21; Apul. nine times (according to index in Delphin edition); Fronto, p. 69 Nieb.; the adverb *plusculum* Plaut. *Amph.* 283; Turpil. 71, 132 Ribb.; Varro *R. R.* 2. 7. 10. On these forms made by adding a diminutive termination to a comparative, see Lorenz on Plaut. *Pseud.* 207–209. They are found in old Latin, Cicero's letters, and late writers. Of similar form in Gellius we find *minusculus*. Other archaic diminutives are *pauculus, pauxillulus*. In fact, the generous use of diminutives is a feature of the style of Gellius, Fronto, and Apuleius. They are indeed common in Plautus, Terence, Catullus, and even Cicero, especially in the Letters, but to quote the words of Vogel (p. 11): "Hadriani temporibus tam longe lateque diffusus erat iste diminutivorum usus, ut nullo prorsus discrimine ubivis deminuta pro simplicibus scriberentur. Atque maxime quidem Apulejus hoc inani verborum tinnitu delectabatur; paullo modestius, haud raro tamen illi quoque satis moleste, deminutivis utebantur Fronto et Gellius, ita ut effeminata hac loquendi figura saepe taedium moveant lectoribus." This use of diminutives without any special meaning is a peculiarity of the

sermo plebeius. Of the diminutives in Gellius the following are ἅπ. εἰρ.: *accentiuncula, auditiuncula, doctiuscule, frigidiusculus, graviusculus, inauditiuncula, subargutulus, trepidulus, invitatiuncula, oblongulus;* the following are rare: *annotatiuncula, declamatiuncula, diutule, saltatricula.* About fifty others are found. Among the archaisms of Fronto, Priebe enumerates *argentiolus, breviculus, meliuscule, mensula, tardiuscule.* For diminutives in Plautus, see Lorenz' introduction to the *Pseudolus*, pp. 58 sqq.

Condignus, iii. 7. 1 *pulcrum facinus Graecarumque facundiarum magniloquentia condignum;* Plaut. *Amph.* 538; *Mil. Glor.* 506 with Lorenz' note; Apul. *Met.* x. p. 679. See also Lorenz on Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 941. Gellius has several compounds of *con,* which seem to be found elsewhere only in old Latin; *condignus, condigne, commoliri, complacere, condormiscere, consilescere, compluriens.* See Lorenz' introduction to the *Pseudolus*, p. 38.

Cruciabilis, iii. 9. 7 *misero cruciabilique exitu periit;* Apuleius; Arnob. ii. 61. Stange (*De Arnobii Oratione*, p. 7) cites as archaisms of that writer *genitabilis, aversibilis,* and *cruciabilis,* remarking on the latter, "bene quidem huc hanc vocem referri puto, cum praeter Arnobium Apuleius ea utatur et Gellius, qui quam libenter nomina e vetustiore lingua adfectaverit non ignoramus." See on *aspernabilis* above.

Cuias, cuiatis, xv. 30. 3 *cuiatisque linguae vocabulum esset;* xv. 30. in lemm. *cuiatis linguae vocabulum sit, Graecae an Gallicae;* frequently in Plaut.; Acc. 625; Apul. Though the word is found also in Livy xxvii. 19. 9 and Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* v. 108, I think it certain that Gellius derived it from the comic writers.

Cuius, a, um, i. 13. 7 *cuia res;* i. 22. 6; ii. 29. 15; often in Plaut. and Ter.; occasionally in Lucil., Cato, Cic.; twice in Vergil: cf. Conington on *Ecl.* iii. 1. For a full discussion see Neue-Wagener 2, 471.

Dividus, ii. 12. 4 *si boni omnes . . . ad alterutram partem dividi sese adiunxerint;* Att. 118 Ribb.

Egregissimus, xiv. 5. 3 *O egregie grammatice vel, si mavis, egregissime;* Pacuv. 230; Neue-Wag. 2, 230. See on *ignarissimus* below.

Exoticus, xiii. 5. 5 *vinum exoticum, vel Rodium aliquod vel Lesbium;* Plaut. *Most.* 41; *Men.* 236; *Epid.* 232; Apul. twice; Lorenz' introduction to the *Mostellaria*, p. 31, footnote.

Florus, iii. 9. 3 *flora et comanti iuba;* Pacuv. 19; Att. 246, 255.

Gracilentus = *gracilis,* iv. 12. 2 *equum gracilentum;* xix. 7. 3 *exili atque gracilento;* Enn. *Annal.* 259 Vahlen. See Non. 116. 1–10.

I think it likely that Gellius is again reproducing some one else; see on *quis* above, p. 145.

Ieiunidici, vi. 14. 5 *squalentes et ieiunidici* (*oratores*). For the meaning, see *Amer. Jour. Philol.* vol. 14, p. 222. For the form, we may compare *blandidicus* Plaut. *Poen.* i. 1. 10; *magnidicus, Mil. Glor.* 922, Amm. Marc.; *vanidicus* Plaut. and Amm.; *spurcidicus, Capt.* 56; *saevidicus* Ter. *Phorm.* 213; *suavidicus* Lucr. iv. 180; *falsidicus* Plaut. *Capt.* 671. So of fifteen words ending in *loquus* and quoted by Neue-Wagener 2, 202, nearly all are confined to the early writers and their post-classical imitators. Cf. Munro's Lucr. 2[4], pp. 16, 17.

Ignarissimus, only in xiv. 1. 13 *eadem ipsa* (*sidera*) *ex alia omni terra non videntur et sunt aliis omnino ignarissima* (where we may note that it is strengthened by *omnino*), and Plaut. *Pseud.* 1161 Fleck. There are several other strange comparatives and superlatives in Gellius, for which no parallels can be adduced save from the comic or other early writers; *e.g. lepidior, penitissimus, scitissimus, atrior, scitissime, strenuissimus, confidentior* (x. 26. 9; Plaut. *Amph.* 153; *Men.* 620), *sincerissimus, pensius* (xii. 5. 7 *carius pensiusque;* Plaut. *Stich.* 118). It is evident here as it was above, in our discussion of diminutives, that the proper force and meaning of words was in many cases no longer felt. A large number of comparatives and superlatives, both adjectives and adverbs, were coined by Gellius. The list is too long to quote here; some of them are given by Draeger, *Historische Syntax*, 1, 40.

Ingeniatus, xii. 1. 17; Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 731, with Lorenz' note.

Intolerans for *intolerandus*, xiii. 8. 5 *nihil enim fieri posse indignius neque intolerantius dicebat.* In xix. 7 Gellius comments on odd words used by Lævius instead of the commoner terms, and in § 8 cites as an example *curis intolerantibus pro intolerandis.* Here, again, his theory is better than his practice. See above, p. 146.

Intercus, xiii. 8. 5 *intercutibus ipsi vitiis madentes;* Cato ap. Prisc. vi. p. 271 Hertz. These two passages seem to be the only places in which *intercus* occurs aside from the phrase *aqua intercus*, for which cf. Pl. *Men.* 891; Cic. *De Off.* iii. 92; Suet. *Ner.* 5; Lucil. ap. Non. 37.

Ischiacus, only in iv. 13. in lemm., and Cato *R. R.* 123. It is possible, however, that Gellius may have borrowed it from Theophrastus rather than from any Latin author. See the whole chapter.

Lepidus, as well as *lepide*, the adverb, would seem to have disappeared from ordinary Latin before Horace's time; so Kiessling on *decentes* in Horace *Carm.* i. 4. 6: "*decentes* . . . ist horazischer

Lieblingsausdruck neben *decorus*, an Stelle des schon zu Ciceros Zeit abgekommenen *lepidus*." The positive *lepidus* is common in Plaut. and Ter. Cf. Gell. i. 23. 8 *lepidi atque festivi;* i. 25. 3 *lepidae atque iucundae;* x. 4. 3 *lepidum et festivum;* the comparative *lepidior* is found only in Gell. i. 8. 6 and Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 658. The adverb *lepide* is common in Plaut. and Ter., twice in Apuleius (who several times has *lepidus*), and in the following places in Gellius: ii. 23. 2 *lepide et venuste;* ii. 29. 2 *lepide ac iucunde;* vi. 16. 1 *lepide ac scite;* ix. 16. 4 *lepide arguteque.*

Manifestarius, i. 7. 3; Plautus. See Lorenz on *Most.* 444. Gellius is here playing on Plaut. *Bacch.* 918. See on *arbitrarius*, above.

Mansues, for *mansuetus*, v. 14. 21 *leo mitis et mansues.* In this chapter we have already noted an archaism; see on *specus*, p. 153. For *mansues*, cf. Cato ap. Fest. 154. 16; Att. 453; Varro *Men. Sat.* 364; Plaut. *Asin.* 504 Ussing, Fleck., Goetz and Schoell; Apuleius; Non. 483 cites *Asin.* 145 and is followed by Goetz and Schoell, though the MSS. of Plautus give *mansuetam.*

Minusculus, iv. 11. 6 *porculis minusculis;* Plaut. *Trin.* 888; Cato *R. R.* 12; Varro *R. R.* iii. 5. 5; Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 13. 5; Cic. *ad Quint.* iii. 1. 4; Macr. *Sat.* iii. 12. 8. See on *complusculus* above.

Morbidus, iv. 13. 2 *docet plurimus hominum morbidis medicinae fuisse incentiones tibiarum;* Varro *R. R.* iii. 16. 22; Lucr. vi. 1097, 1225, 1261.

Necessum, a by-form of *necesse*, is very frequent in Gellius. Cf. *n. est* ii. 29. 9; iii. 1. 12; vii. 1. 3; vii. 14. 4; x. 11. 7; x. 15. 8; xii. 2. 2; xiii. 3. 3; xiii. 20. 11; xiii. 23. 5; xvi. 2. 8; xix. 1. 7; xix. 5. 6; *n. sit* v. 11. 8; *n. esset* i. 3. 4; *n. esse* ii. 7. 5; ix. 8. in lemm.; Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 1118, and in five other passages; Lucr. five times; Cato and Afran., cited by Georges. Munro's note on Lucr. ii. 289 requires correction; see Neue-Wagener 2, 182. *Necessus* is found xvi. 8. 1. See ref. in Georges and Neue-Wagener *l.c.;* Munro on Lucr. ii. 710.

Obstupidus, v. 1. 6 *obstupidi et attoniti;* Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 1254; Pacuv. 54; Apul. *Met.* i. p. 107.

Pauculus, præf. 13; iii. 17. in lemm.; iii. 17. 3; Plaut., Ter., Cato; Cic. *ad Att.* v. 21. 6; Apul. six times.

Paupertinus, xiv. 6. 5 *nec prorsus ad nostras paupertinas litteras congruentem;* xx. 1. 30 *paupertino homini vel inopi;* Varro ap. Non. 162; Apul. and Amm. Marc.

Pauxillulus, præf. 16 *minutae admonitiones et pauxillulae;* Plaut. *Pseud.* 706 R. = 685 Lorenz (see his note); *pauxillulum* as noun in

Ter. *Phorm.* 37; as adv., Plaut. *Bacch.* 833; Sidon. *Epp.* ii. 9; viii. 9. See on *complusculus* above.

Penitissimus, superlative of *penitus,* itself ante- and post-classical, ix. 4. 6; Macr. *Sat.* v. 19. 6; id. v. 22. 15; Apul.; Plaut. *Cist.* i. 1. 65; *Pers.* iv. 3. 53, 71; Lorenz on *Most.* 656. See on *ignarissimus,* above.

Plautinissimus, iii. 3. 4 *versus qui quoniam sunt, ut de illius Plauti more dicam, Plautinissimi. . . .* Gellius no doubt had in mind such forms as *ipsissimus Trin.* 988; *geminissimus Pers.* v. 2. 49; *verberabilissimus Aul.* 633 Goetz-Schoell; *paenissume Most.* 656, with Lorenz' note; *exclusissimus Men.* 695; *occisissimus Curc.* i. 2. 28; *cumulatissimus Aul.* 825. Compare Draeg. *Hist. Syn.* 1, 28.

Plerique, Pleraque, combined with **omnes, omnia,** i. 3. 2 *p. omnia;* i. 21. 1 *p. omnes;* iv. 17. 14 *plerosque omnes.* In the twelfth chapter of book 8, now lost, Gellius had proposed to himself to answer the question *quid significet in veterum libris scriptum* **plerique omnes.** Cf. Ter. *And.* 55; *Heaut.* 830; *Phorm.* 172, with Dziatsko's note.

Plusculus. See on *complusculus* above.

Praesentarius, vii. 4. 1 *venenum non p. sed eiusmodi quod mortem in diem proferret;* Plaut. *Poen.* iii. 5. 47; *Most.* 361; Lorenz on *Pseud.* 290 = 302 R.

Privus = *singulus,* xi. 6. 1 where *singulis verbis* and *privis vocibus* are used with precisely the same meaning. In xx. 10. 4 Gellius says *veteres priva dixerunt quae nos singula dicimus,* thus distinctly characterizing *privus* in this sense as an archaism. See Munro on Lucr. iii. 372, and remarks on *intolerans* above.

Procinctus, i. 11. 3; x. 15. 4. See on *classis* above.

Promiscus, as a by-form of *promiscuus,* xi. 16. 8 *varia . . . promiscaque cogitatione;* xvi. 13. 4; xiii. 17. 1; xiii. 29. 4; Plaut. *Asin.* 366; *Rud.* 1182; Varro *Men. Sat.* 383; Livy v. 13. 7 Weiss. Gellius coined *impromiscus* xii. 4. 3, i. 7. 7, and for the adverb always prefers the form *promisce; e.g.* præf. 2; ii. 24. 7; vi. 3. 52; x. 21. 2; Livy iii. 47. 5 Weiss. *Promiscam* as adverb is ante-classical. Cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 1062 with Lorenz' note.

Propudiosus, ii. 7. 20 *uxorem infamem, prop.;* Plaut., Apul., and Fronto, p. 62 Nab.

Ridicularius, iv. 20. 3; see on *canicula* above. Cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 330; *Trin.* 66; *Truc.* 684; Cato ap. Macr. *Sat.* iii. 14. 9, and see on *arbitrarius* above.

Scitissimus, xix. 9. 3; Apul. Met. x. p. 725; Plaut. *Stich.* 184. See on *ignarissimus* above.

Senectus, ii. 15. in lemm. *aetati senectae;* iii. 4. in lemm. *aetatem sen.;* Munro on Lucr. iii. 772; Plaut. and Sall.

Sincerissimus, xv. 1. 4; xx. 6. 14; Plaut. *Rud.* 757.

Singularius, for *singularis,* ix. 4. 6 *singulariae velocitatis;* Plaut. *Capt.* 113; Turpil. 28.

Sterilus, iv. 2. 8, 9; Lucr. ii. 845; Paul. ex. Fest. 316. Gellius is here reproducing Antistius Labeo.

Strenuissimus, iii. 7. 13, due probably to Cato. See on *ignarissimus* above, and Neue-Wagener 2, 203.

Summas, vi. 3. 7 *summatibus viris;* Plaut. *Stich.* 492 *summates viri; Pseud.* 227 with Lorenz' note; Sidon. and Amm. Marc.

Umectus, ii. 22. 4 (*ventus*) *nebulosus atque u.;* Macr. *Sat.* vii. 15. 12; vii. 6. 17; vii. 10. 10; Cato *R. R.* 6; Varro *R. R.* i. 24. 4; Lucr. iv. 634.

Vacivus, i. 22. 10 *superfluenti et vacivo;* often in Plaut. and Ter. See Lorenz on *Pseud.* 449 = 469 R. Lewis and Short wrongly describe this word as only ante-classical.

Vulgarius, for *vulgaris,* i. 22. 2 *in plebe vulgaria;* iii. 16. 18 *vulgariae significationis;* xii. 10. 6 *in libris vulgariis;* xvi. 5. 1 *vulgariam traditionem;* xiii. 25. 4; xvii. 3. in lemm. *volgariam interpretationem;* Afran. 263, Turpil. 205 cited by Non. 488; Nov. 98 ap. Non. 481; Apuleius.

3. *Verbs.*

Adiutare, vi. 3. 3 *Rodienses regem adversus populum Romanum adiutarent;* i. 3. 13 *"cum agetur," inquit, "aut caput amici aut fama, declinandum est de via, ut etiam iniquam voluntatem illius adiutemus."* Here Gellius is evidently referring to a passage which he has just cited from Cicero (*Læl.* 61), where we read *ut minus iustae voluntates amicorum adiuvandae sint.* Gellius' substitution of *adiutare* for *adiuvare* is instructive. This particular verb is common in Plaut. and Terence. Cf., too, Att. 103; Pacuv. 98, 157; Lucr. i. 812; Varro *R. R.* ii. 7; Prisc. 8. 24, p. 391. According to my collections, Gellius uses about 60 frequentative verbs, with a total of about 110 occurrences. Of these verbs, 7 are to be regarded as archaic and are discussed below: *defensare, dissertare, esitare, inceptare, lusitare, mutitare, victitare.* Four others are ἅπ. εἰρ.: *deversitare, frequentitare, improbitare, solitare,* while two others, *rasitare* and *responsitare,* are extremely rare. *Appellitare* xviii. 9. 11, ii. 22. 25; *cenitare* viii. 11. in lemm.; *coeptare* iv. 1. 6, xv. 2. 3; *fluitare* xvi. 19. 16; *gestare* vi. 5. 5, x. 10. in lemm.; *metari*

i. 1. 2; *obiectare* vi. 12. 4; *observitare* x. 15. 27; *occursare* iii. 7. 6; *pensitare* i. 4. 1, vii. 10. in lemm.; *territare* xix. 1. 20; *vectare* xvi. 19. 16 are either not in Cicero and Cæsar at all, or else but seldom. *Lectitare* is found at least 7 times: i. 4. 8, i. 7. 16, ii. 23. 1, iii. 3. 1, v. 15. 9, ix. 4. 5, xi. 13. 5. In ii. 6 we are told that certain grammarians criticised Vergil's use of *vexare* in Ecl. vi. 76 because *vexasse . . . putant verbum esse leve et tenuis ac parvi incommodi, nec tantae atrocitati congruere, cum homines repente a belua immanissima rapti laniatique sint* (§ 2). The criticism is interesting as showing how completely, to the minds of such persons, the verb had lost its true life and force. Gellius' defence of Vergil is set forth in § 5: *sed de verbo vexasse ita responderi posse credo: vexasse grave verbum esse factumque ab eo videtur, quod est vehere, in quo inest vis iam quaedam alieni arbitrii; non enim sui potens est qui vehitur. Vexare autem, quod ex eo inclinatum est, vi atque motu procul dubio vastiorest. Nam qui fertur et rapsatur atque huc atque illuc distrahitur, is vexari proprie dicitur, sicuti taxare pressius crebriusque est quam tangere, unde id procul dubio inclinatum est, et iactare multo fusius largiusque est quam iacere, unde id verbum traductum est, et quassare quam quatere gravius violentiusque est. Non igitur, quia vulgo dici solet vexatum esse quem fumo aut vento aut pulvere, propterea debet vis vera atque natura verbi deperire, quae a veteribus, qui proprie atque signate locuti sunt, conservata est.* Yet, despite the clearness with which he enunciates the true force of frequentatives, he often employs them himself without implying at all, or even being conscious of, their full significance. A few illustrations will suffice. *Coeptare* iv. 1. 6 has no special force as distinct from *incipere; defensitare* ii. 25. 24 could well be replaced by *defendere,* just as *propulsabat et defensabat* vii. 16. 11 are no stronger than the simple verbs would be; *inceptare* i. 9. 6, i. 11. 3, iii. 19. 1 differs in no way from the simple *incipere; solitavisse* vi. 1. 6 cannot be distinguished from *solitum esse.* In xv. 2. 3 we find *in conviviis quae agitare Athenis sollemne nobis fuit.* Still more striking are xii. 11. 1 *cum ad eum frequenter ventitaremus,* and xx. 1. 54 *non admodum numero* (= *saepe?*) *istiusmodi libros lectitantibus.* Fronto and Apuleius show a similar fondness for frequentatives. Compare Lorenz on Plaut. *Most.* 116: "Frequentativa für simplicia sind nicht blos in der stets auf Nachdruck zielenden Umgangssprache sehr allgemein, . . . sondern treten auch sonst in der älteren Latinität, z. B. bei Cato, stark hervor." See, further, Lorenz' introduction to the *Pseud.*, Anm. 48. Schultze (*De Arch. Sall.* p. 67) writes: "Ita-

que etiam Sallustius multa verba frequentativa et apud alios et eos quidem optimos scriptores usitata et per se ipsa non obsoleta aut antiqua adhibuit. Attamen dico eum permultas etiamsi solitas formas tam saepe scripsisse, ut oratio antiquum colorem redoleret, quamobrem multum crebrumque horum verborum usum auctori archaismo tribuere non dubito."

Adminiculare, in a transferred sense, as = *adiuvare* ii. 30. 6 *id autem ipsum, quod dicimus, ex illis quoque Homericis versibus . . . adminiculari potest;* xiv. 2. 1 *commoniti adminiculatique sumus,* said of help derived from books. Cf. Non. 77 *adminiculavi positum pro adiuvi,* a statement supported by citations from Varro and Cato; Varro *L. L.* viii. 44. The same meaning appears in the noun *adminiculator,* ἅπαξ εἰρημένον in vi. 3. 8 (*Tirone*) . . . *adminiculatore et quasi administro in studiis litterarum Cicero usus est.*

Arbitrari has true passive force i. 13. 2 *anceps quaestio et in utramque partem a prudentibus viris arbitrata est;* Plaut. *Pseud.* 997 Lorenz (with his note) = 1014 R; Georges. See on *auspicare* below.

Auspicare, active for the more usual deponent iii. 2. 10 *auspicaverunt;* xiii. 14. 5 *auspicaverit;* cited by Georges from Næv., Cato, Atta, Cæcil., Plaut., Varro, and Apul. Cf. *exauspicavi* Plaut. *Capt.* 766. A wavering between active and passive forms is characteristic of the early Latin: see Brix on Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 172; Lorenz on *Most.* 371, 960, also on *Mil. Glor.* 995; Lange *Beitr. z. Krit. u. Erkl. des Plaut.* pp. 59 sqq. Palmer on *Amph.* 884 supports *testat,* read there by Goetz and Loewe, by pointing out the frequency with which such active forms are used by Pl. where later Latin has deponent forms. In this connection, the following forms employed by Gellius are worthy of notice: (1) depon. for act.: *comperior* iii. 3. 1; *commereri* i. 6. 6; *osus fuit* iv. 8. 3; (2) active for depon.: *eblandire* xi. 13. 5; *eiaculare* xvi. 19. 21; *imaginare* xvi. 18. 3; (3) depon. forms in pass. meaning: *poenitur* xx. 1. 7; *arbitrata est* i. 13. 2; xv. 1. 6 *cum ex omni latere (turris) circumplexa igni foret;* xi. 2. 4 *reprehendi desiit, sed laude nulla* **dignabatur**; xix. 11. 1 *celebrantur duo isti Graeci versiculi multorumque doctorum hominum memoria* **dignantur**; v. 10. 16 *ab . . . discipulo . . . magister . . . frustratus est;* xvi. 6. 11 *de ovium dentibus opiliones percontantur;* xix. 8. 14 *his quoque ipsis, quae iam dixi, demoratos vos esse video.* Many of these forms are archaic in a special sense and will be discussed at the proper place.

Blaterare, i. 15. 17 *hominibus . . . stulta et immodica blaterantibus;* Afran. 13, 195; Cæcil. 66; Apul. in four passages. Cf. Plaut. *Amph.*

626 *nugas blatis,* with Palmer's note. Apuleius coined *adblaterare,* and Gellius also has *deblaterare.* In i. 15. 20 he says *neque minus insigniter veteres quoque nostri hoc genus homines in verba proiectos locutuleios et blaterones et linguaces dixerunt,* thus indicating the source whence he had derived the verb.

Candefacere, vii. 5. 9; Plaut. *Most.* 259; Plin. Maior.

Circumplectere, act. for depon. xv. 1. 6; Plaut. *Asin.* 696; Cato *R. R.* 21. 2; Apuleius. See on *auspicare* above.

Commereri, depon. for act. i. 6. 6 *fidem sedulitatis veritatisque commeritus;* Plaut. *Aul.* 738 Goetz (beside the act. 731); Ter. *Hec.* 485; Arn. 2. 70.

Commoliri, iii. 19. 3 *confabricatus commolitusque est originem vocabuli;* Lucr. vi. 255; read, too, by Lachmann Lucr. vi. 242, where Munro reads *demoliri;* Cæcil. 207. See on *condignus* above, p. 157.

Comperior, depon. for act., iii. 3. 1; Sall. *Bell. Iug.* xlv. 1, imitated by Tac. *Ann.* iv. 20. 4 (see Furneaux' note, and Draeger *Syn. u. Stil. d. Tac.* § 259, p. 125). Cf., too, Ter. *And.* 902; Apuleius and Tertullian.

Complacere, i. 21. 3 *complacitum (esse);* xvii. 9. 4 *complacebat;* xviii. 3. 4 *complacitum est;* Plaut. *Rud.* 187, 727; Ter. *And.* 645, *Heaut.* 773; Apul.

Concinnare, iii. 17. 5 *quod impenso pretio librum Pythagoricae disciplinae (Plato) emisset exque eo Timaeum, nobilem illum dialogum, concinnasset;* common in Plaut., both in this sense and with the force simply of *efficere;* Cato; Petr. 113; Lucr.; Apul.; not in Ter., Cic., Cæs., or Quintil.

Condormiscere, vi. 1. 3 *cum absente marito cubans sola condormisset;* Plaut. *Most.* 486; *Rud.* 572; *Curc.* 360; *Mil. Glor.* 826. Lewis and Short wrongly say that this verb is found only in Plautus.

Consilescere, v. 1. 6 *consiluisse omnes dicit;* xii. 1. 22 *omnis impatientissimae sollicitudinis strepitus consilescit;* Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 583 with Lorenz' note; Enn. *Ann.* 585. Cf. Paul. ex Fest. 58.

Deblaterare, i. 2. 6 *theorematis tantum nugalibus deblaterantes;* ix. 15. 10 *deblateratis versuum multis milibus;* Plaut. *Aul.* 268 Goetz; Lucil. ap. Non. 96; Paul. ex Fest. 72. 3. See on *blaterare* above.

Demerere = "to earn (money)," i. 8. 3 *demerebat grandem pecuniam;* Plaut. *Pseud.* 1169 = 1186 R, with Lorenz' note.

Demulcere, v. 14. 12 *cruraque eius et manus . . . lingua leniter (leo) demulcet;* i. 11. 11; iii. 13. 5 *motus et demultus et captus est;* xvi. 19. 6 *aures mentesque demulsit;* xviii. 2. 1 *animum demulcentes;* Ter. *Heaut.* 762; Livy ix. 16. 16. For other compounds of *de,* com-

pare *demutare, deperire* below, and see Lorenz' introduction to the *Pseudolus*, p. 39 footnote.

Demutare, xvii. 1. 6 *sententiam demutamus;* repeatedly in Plautus; Cato ap. Macr. iii. 14. 9; Apul. and Tert.

Deperire = "to be madly in love with," vii. 16. 13. Gellius is reproducing Catullus: compare his words here with the quotation from Catullus in § 2. The verb in this sense is not found in Cic., Verg., Hor., or Ovid. It is frequent in Plautus; once in Terence. See, too, Catull. xxxv. 12, where Ellis writes: "*Deperire* with an accusative of the person loved is frequent in Plautus and Terence." This statement, while true of Plautus, does not hold good for Terence: see Holtze, *Syntaxis* 1. 244, 245.

Dignari with passive force, xi. 2. 4, xix. 11. 1. As examples of this usage, Non. 281 cites Verg. *Æn.* 3. 475; Att. 474; Cic. *Orat.* 64, where, however, our MSS. give *signata;* Cic. *De Orat.* iii. 25, where see Wilkins' note. Cf. also Att. 447; Pacuv. 166, 213; Lucr. v. 52 and Munro ad loc. In the post-classical time the depon. use seems well-nigh universal.

Dissertare, vi. 14. 9; i. 26. 7; Plaut. *Men.* 809; Paul. ex Fest. 61. 1. See Draeger (*Syn. u. Stil. d. Tac.* § 258): "Als Archaismen konnte man etwa notiren . . . dissertare (nach Cato und Plautus) . . . und dann wieder bei Gellius."

Esitare, iv. 11. 1 *non esitavisse ex animalibus;* iv. 11. 9; xi. 7. 3 *furfureum panem esitare;* Plaut. *Pseud.* 830; *Capt.* 188; Cato *R. R.* 157; Apuleius.

Expergere, vii. 10. 1 *iuvenum animos expergebat;* Apul. several times; Fronto, p. 246 Nieb.; Arn. v. 1; Att. 140; Santra 4; Lucr. iii. 929; Paul. ex Fest. 80, 8. Gellius coined *expergificare* xvii. 12. 1, and Apul. twice writes the adv. *expergite.*

Fumigare, xix. 1. 3; Varro *R. R.* iii. 16. 17; Col.; Arn. vii. 20.

Inceptare, i. 9. 6 *artibus quas discere atque meditari inceptaverant;* i. 11. 3 *tibicines . . . canere inceptabant;* iii. 19. 1 *servus . . . legere inceptabat;* elsewhere only in Plaut. and Terence. See on *adiutare* above.

Indipisci, i. 11. 8 *Achaeos Homerus pugnam indipisci ait;* xvii. 2. 1 *indipisci animo atque recensere;* Plaut. *Rud.* 1315; *Epid.* 451; Lucr. iii. 212; Livy twice.

Interminari, xv. 22. 8 *iussit tacere ac, ne cui palam diceret, interminatus est;* Plautus and Terence.

Labascere, xv. 2. 7; Plaut. *Rud.* 1394; Ter. *Adel.* 239; Lucr. i. 537, iv. 1285; cited in deponent form by Non. 473, from Attius and Varro.

Lusitare, xviii. 13. 1 *alea . . . lusitabamus*, whereas in § 4 we have *omnibus qui eum lusum luseramus;* Plaut. *Capt.* 1003; Næv. ap. Non. 139 s.v. morsicatim.

Mutitare, ii. 24. 2 *qui ludis Megalensibus antiquo ritu mutitarent, id est, mutua inter sese dominia agitarent*, where Gellius is evidently reproducing the words of some old decree of the senate; viii. 2. 1. It is an accident that the verb is extant only in Gellius.

Nidulari, ii. 29. 4, where Gellius borrowed probably from Ennius (see remarks above on *crastini, luci*, pp. 143, 144); also in iii. 10. 5, a passage derived from Varro.

Odi, odisse. We meet with a deponent form of this verb in iv. 8. 3 *hunc Fabricius non probabat neque amico utebatur* **osusque** *eum morum causa* **fuit.** Contrast the lemma: *quem, cum odisset inimicusque esset, designandum tamen consulem curavit.* Cf. Gracchus ap. Paul. ex Fest. 201 **osi sunt** *ab odio declinasse antiquos C. Gracchus testis est;* Plaut. *Amph.* 900; Sen. *Suas.* i. 5.

Opprobrare, i. 15. 10; iii. 5 in lemm.; vi. 16. 4; xvii. 1. 11; Plaut. *Most.* 300; Truc. ii. 2. 25; Apul. once; Paul. ex Fest. 187. Gellius coined the noun *opprobratio*, for which see ii. 7. 13, xii. 12. 4. We may also compare *opprobramentum* Plaut. *Merc.* ii. 3. 84.

Percontari, in passive meaning, xvi. 6. 11. Exx. in Næv., Nov., and Apul., cited by Georges.

Percupio, xiii. 17. 1 *percupiunt appetuntque;* Plaut. *Asin.* 76; Ter. *Eun.* 896. Lewis and Short are in error on this word.

Pertaedescere, i. 2. 6; Cato *R. R.* 156.

Praefulcire, vi. 3. 44; Plaut. *Pseud.* 750 Lorenz, with his note; *Pers.* 12; Cic. *ad Att.* v. 13. 3.

Praeservire, i. 7. 6 *neque numeris neque generibus praeserviens;* Plaut. *Amph.* Prol. 126.

Protolli, iii. 16. 15; Plaut. *Pseud.* 860; twice in the *Cas.;* Lucil. ap. Non. 159.

Velitari, vii. 11. 1 *non esse convicio decertandum neque in maledictis adversum impudentes et improbos velitandum*, in a rather colloquial sense; Plaut. *Men.* 780; Turpil. and Afran. ap. Non., p. 3; Apuleius.

Victitare, iv. 11. 6; ix. 4. 10; xv. 4. 3; xvii. 6. 1; Plaut. and Terence. Correct Lewis and Short. See on *adiutare.*

Vocificare, ix. 3. 1; Varro *R. R.* iii. 16. 8.

4. *Adverbs, Prepositions, and Conjunctions.*

Absque = *sine*, ii. 2. 7 *absque praeiudicio;* ii. 26. 20 *absque te uno forsitan lingua profecto Graeca longe anteisset*, where *absque te*, in true Plautine fashion = *si tu non adfuisses;* Fronto and Apuleius. See Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* i. § 289; Brix-Niemeyer on Plaut. *Trin.* 832; Dziatsko on Ter. *Phorm.* 188.

Ad amussim, i. 4. 1 *ut iudicium esse factum ad amussim diceres;* xx. 1. 34 *vel ad amussim aequipararent;* Macr. *Sat.* i. 4. 13; Varro *R. R.* ii. 1. 26. We may compare *ex amussim*, noticed by Non., p. 9, and Paul. ex Fest., p. 80; Plaut. *Most.* 102, with Lorenz' note; *Men.* 50; *Amph.* 843; Apul. four times; and the verb *amussitare* Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 632.

Adprime. In xvii. 2. 14, in a citation from Claudius Quadrigarius, we find these words: *cuius operam cum M. Furio dictatore apud Gallos cumprime fortem atque exsuperabilem respublica sensit.* He then remarks, **adprime** *crebrius est*, **cumprime** *rarius traductumque ex eo est, quod cumprimis dicebant pro quod est imprimis.* In extant Latin, *adprime* is found several times in Plaut., *e.g. Mil. Glor.* 794; *Trin.* 373; Ter. *And.* 61 (with Spengel's note) and elsewhere; Quadr. ap. Gell. vi. 11. 7; Varro *R. R.* iii. 2. 17; Gell. v. 21. 1; ix. 13. 1; xiii. 12. 1; xvii. 7. 3; xviii. 5. 10; Apuleius often; Neue-Wagener 2, 628; Hertz. *Vindic. Gell. Alt.* p. 23.

Aliorsum, vi. 15. 1; xii. 1. 22; xvii. 1. 9; Plaut. *Truc.* 403; Ter. *Eun.* 82; Cato ap. Paul. ex Fest. 27. 10; Apul. and Amm. Marcell.; *aliovorsum* Plaut. *Aul.* 287.

Aliquam, combined with *multi*, iii. 10. 17; Apuleius. Cf. Neue-Wagener 2, 578.

Aliquantisper, ii. 30. 5; Plaut. *Pseud.* 571 R.; Ter. *Adel.* 639; *Heaut.* 572; Cæcil. and Quadr. ap. Non. 511.

Ampliter = *ample*, ii. 6. 11; x. 3. 4; Apul.; Macr. *Sat.* vi. 7. 14; Plaut. frequently, *e.g. Mil. Glor.* 260: see Tyrrell and Lorenz, *ad loc.*; Lucil. ap. Non. 511; Pompon. 54, 234. Cf. Neue-Wagener 2, 725: "Von einer bedeutenden Anzahl von Adiectiva auf us a um, er ra rum und er era erum werden bei den älteren Dichtern und bei ihren späteren Nachahmern Adverbia auf ter gebildet. Mehrere derselben zählt Nonius auf in dem Abschnitt de indiscretis adverbiis S. 509–517, und nach diesem Prisc. 15, 3, 13, S. 1010." See further Ellis on Catullus 39, 14; Munro on Lucr. i. 525. With *ampliter* we may compare *duriter, festiviter, firmiter, ignaviter, naviter*, all of which

Gellius seems to have borrowed from the early writers. Of archaic adverbs in *ter* from adjectives of the third declension, we note *inclementer* and *rarenter*. Gellius' preference for such forms may be seen from the following facts. Several adverbs in *iter* from adjectives of the second declension are ἅπ. εἰρ.: *amoeniter* xx. 8. 1 (whether *amoenius* xiv. 1. 32 is from *amoene* or *amoeniter* cannot be determined); *concinniter* xviii. 2. 7; *inconcinniter* x. 17. 2; *infestiviter* ix. 9. 9; *intempestiviter* iv. 20 in lemm. (contra *intempestive* iv. 20. 6 and i. 2. 4); so from adjectives of the third declension we have ἅπ. εἰρ. *tractabiliter* vii. 2. 8; from verbs *edocenter* xvi. 8. 3; *inflammanter* x. 3. 13; *insectanter* xix. 3. 1; *miseranter* x. 3. 4; *prospicienter* ii. 29. 1; *vacanter* xvii. 10. 16. Several others were apparently coined by Gellius and adopted by later writers: *adfabiliter* xvi. 3. 5; *consimiliter* vi. 11. 7; vii. 16. 12; xi. 5. 8; xiii. 21. 10; xvii. 9. 7; *delectabiliter* xiii. 24. 17; xv. 1. 1; *praelicenter* xvi. 7. 1; *immaniter* i. 26. 8; *sinceriter* xiii. 17. 1. See also on *aspernabilis* above, p. 155.

Clam, as preposition, ii. 23. 16 *ea res clam patrem fuit*. Here Gellius probably had in mind a play of Cæcilius. See Draeg. *Hist. Syn.* 1, p. 665.

Ast, i. 9. 5 *ast ubi res didicerant*. See Nettleship, *Contributions to Latin Lexicography, s.v.*

Clanculum, i. 8. 7 *ad hanc ille Demosthenes clanculum adiit;* Plaut. and Ter. often. See Neue-Wagener 2, 621, and correct Lewis and Short. *Clanculo*, as adverb, appears in Apul., Marc., and Amm. Marc.

Compluriens, vi. 3. 5 *Rodienses pertimuere ob ea, quae compluriens in coetibus populi acta dictaque erant*. This is apparently the only passage in Latin in which this word has been preserved naturally, so to speak. It is known to us otherwise only through citations in Gellius, Nonius, and Festus. In v. 21. 16 Gellius characterizes it as *minus usitatum*, and for that very reason cites it from Plautus and Cato, thus himself marking the word as practically obsolete.

Concinniter is ἅπαξ εἰρημένον xviii. 2. 7. *Concinne* is used by Cicero and even by Plautus. See on *ampliter*, above.

Condigne (see on *condignus*, above, p. 157), i. 6. 4; xiv. 4. 1; Plaut., Fronto, and Apuleius. See Lorenz on Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 505, 941.

Conquisite, iii. 10. 16; Afran. 259; ad Herenn. ii. 31. 50.

Cumprimis is characterized by Gellius himself as obsolete in xvii. 2. 14, in words quoted above on *adprime*. Yet he uses it often; i. 13. 7; i. 15. 8; xi. 3. 1; xiii. 17. 2; xiii. 21. 25; xviii. 4. 8; xix. 5. 3.

Duriter, xvii. 10. 15; cited by Georges from Ter., Enn., Lucr., Afran., Nov., and Macr. On the other hand *dure* occurs, xviii. 11. 2 and xx. 1. 7. See Neue-Wagener 2, 727, and on *ampliter*, above.

Fermemodum, xviii. 12. 9 (10) *verba autem patiendi pro agentibus in omnibus fermemodum veterum scriptis inveniuntur.* The reading is defended against Madvig's criticism by Hertz, *Vindiciae Gell. Alterae*, pp. 82, 83, as an archaism.

Festiviter, i. 2. in lemm.; i. 2. 7; i. 22. 6; xviii. 8. 2; Nov. 40. The classical *festive* appears in xviii. 1. 9 and even in Plaut. *Pseud.* 1254. See on *ampliter* above.

Fortassean, v. 14. 13; vi. 3. 53; xi. 9. 1; xvii. 5. 13; xix. 8. 6; Att. 122; Sisenna ap. Non. 138; Varro *L. L.* v. 6. 34 and elsewhere; Apuleius and Tertullian.

Graphice, x. 17. 2; xii. 4. 1; Plaut. and Apuleius.

Ignaviter, ii. 6. in lemm.; cited by Georges from Lucil., Quadrig., Apul., and Amm. Marc.

Illi, as adverb, for *illic*, v. 1. 1. See Brix on Plaut. *Capt.* 278; Neue-Wagener 2, 655; Conington on Verg. *Georg.* i. 54.

Impendio, as a strengthening adverb, = *valde:* i. 2. 3; xi. 18. 4; xix. 13. 3; xx. 1. 12; Apuleius; often in Amm. Marc.; Plaut. *Aul.* 18 with Wagner's note; Ter. *Eun.* 587; Cic. *ad Att.* x. 4. 9; Læv. ap. Gell. xix. 7. 10; Afran. 351.

Imperiose, ii. 29. 1, a chapter full of archaisms; Varro ap. Non. 287. 20.

Inibi is used quite often by Gellius, and in somewhat curious ways. Compare i. 17. in lemm. *Quanta cum animi aequitate toleraverit Socrates uxoris ingenium intractabile; atque inibi, quid M. Varro in quadam satura de officio mariti scripserit.* The phrase *atque inibi* repeatedly occurs in the same sense in the lemmata of various chapters. See i. 3; i. 11; i. 17; ii. 26; iii. 2; iii. 3; iii. 16; iv. 3; vi. 18; vi. 19; vii. 6; viii. 14; viii. 15; ix. 4; x. 11; x. 19; x. 23; x. 25; xi. 15; xi. 18; also xiv. 7. 9; xiii. 23. 15; xvii. 12. 13. I. 3. 1 is different: *eum Chilonem in vitae suae postremo, cum iam inibi mors occuparet;* in i. 3. 5 it stands in a paratactic construction: *vix ego haec dixeram cunctabundus, atque inibi quispiam . . . inquit.* In its temporal meaning *inibi* is found Cic. *Phil.* xiv. 2. 5; Pacuv. 124; Cæcil. 189; in its physical sense Cic. *Agr.* i. 7. 20; Plaut. *Pers.* i. 3. 45; Cato *R. R.* 18. 2. The word, perhaps, belongs to the *sermo plebeius.*

Intempestiviter, iv. 20. in lemm., but in iv. 20. 6 we have the more correct form *intempestive.* See on *ampliter* above.

Interdius, archaic form of *interdiu*, xvii. 10. 11; Cato *R. R.* 83; Varro *R. R.* 2. 10; Plaut. *Aul.* 72 with Wagner's note; *Asin.* 599; *Capt.* 730 with Brix' note; *Most.* 444 and Lorenz' note, together with his introduction to that play, p. 31 footnote; Ter. *Adel.* 531.

Munde, x. 17. 2; Plaut. *Poen.* v. 4. 5; Cato *R. R.* 66. 1; Titin. ap. Charis. p. 183.

Ne . . . quoque = *ne . . . quidem.* In xvii. 2. 18 it is said of Claudius Quadrigarius that *ne id quoque dixit pro ne id quidem, infrequens nunc in loquendo, sed in libris veterum creberrimum.* Yet Gellius writes the phrase three times: i. 2. 5 *ne oris quoque;* xi. 5. 4 *ne videre quoque;* xx. 1. 15 *ne procedere quoque.*

Nimisquam, xiv. 1. 4 *nimisquam ineptum absurdumque;* Plaut. *Most.* 511 with Lorenz' note. Gellius may have borrowed here from Plautus, or the use of the word may be due to the influence of the *sermo plebeius.*

Nove, xv. 14. 1 *nove dictum;* xvii. 2. 13 *magnum viaticum pro magna facultate et paratu magno nove positum est;* Plaut. *Epid.* 222; ad Herenn. i. 9. 15.

Numero as adverb, xx. 1. 54 *historia de Metto Fufetio Albano nobis quoque, non admodum numero istiusmodi libros lectitantibus, ignota non est,* where *numero* seems to be used in the sense of *saepenumero.* If I am right in interpreting *non admodum numero istiusmodi libros lectitantibus* as "though I do not very often read books of that sort," then the meaning of *numero* would seem to be without parallel, for in all other passages in which *numero* appears it = "soon," or "too soon," or "in the nick of time." See Lorenz on Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 1400; Ribbeck's Corollarium to the Tragic Fragments, pp. xiv., xv. All the passages in which *numero* occurs as adverb, save the one under discussion, are in the early writers. I am inclined to think that *saepenumero* should be read in Gellius.

Pone = *post*, i. 11. 11 *qui pone eum loquentem staret.* See on *classis* above. Draeg. *Hist. Syntax* 1, p. 599.

Praemature, x. 11. 8 and Plaut. *Most.* 500.

Praequam, i. 3. 5 *visum est quod feci praequam alia erant toleratu facilius;* xvi. 1. 3; Plaut. *Most.* 982 and Lorenz' note; Holtze, *Syntaxis Prisc. Latin.* 2, 289.

Primitus, i. 18. 1; vii. 2. 8; x. 8. 2; xii. 5. 8; xii. 14. 2; Lucil., Lucr., Varro, Petron., Sueton.; Neue-Wagener 2, 740.

Publicitus, ii. 16. 1; Fab. Pict. ap. Gell. x. 15. 4; Varro ap. Gell. ii. 25. 8; Macr. *Sat.* vii. 12. 28; Cato *R. R.* 103; Cæcil., Pompon., Enn., Liv. Andron., and Apuleius.

Scitissime, x. 11. 6; Plaut. *Stich.* 273; Apul. and Macrobius. See on *scitissimus* and *ignarissimus* above.

Universim, i. 3. 22 *summatim universimque;* Næv. *Bell. Pun.* iii. 7.

Utroqueversum, v. 12. 10 *ambigua sint et utroquevèrsum dicantur;* ix. 12. 13 *utroqueversum dici possint;* ix. 12. 20; Plaut. *Capt.* 368; *utroqueversus* xii. 9. 2; xv. 13. in lemm. and § 1.

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On Certain Parallelisms between the Ancient and the Modern Drama.

For the man of letters who has let his classical studies lapse on leaving college, and who takes them up again a score of years later, there are compensations, as I have recently discovered by personal experience. What the man of letters who does this has lost is incalculable and irrecoverable, no doubt, and what he may gain is but little indeed and of small worth, — yet it is something if it be only a renewed freshness of view. And it is indisputable that this is the chief gain, — this ability to look at old texts from new standpoints, and to interpret the life and the literature of the past by the aid of a deeper knowledge of the life and the literature of the present.

The vital principles of any art are always the same, and they subsist through the ages essentially unchanged, however much they may seem to be modified superficially by the varying fashions of succeeding generations. Of no art are the fundamental laws more absolutely fixed than are those of the drama. When, therefore, one who has given his attention for twenty-five years to the modern stage returns to the study of the ancient theatre, he might fairly be expected now and again to note points of contact between the old and the new.

A knowledge of the manners and customs of the players and the playwrights of Paris and London and New York enables the student to understand better than he could otherwise the manners and the customs of the players and the playwrights of Athens and Rome. When any one having an acquaintance with the modern playhouse inquires into the practices of the ancient theatre, he cannot but remark, in the older plays, features which are often supposed to be the sole property of the most recent playwrights. In the Greek theatre, for instance, it is not difficult to discover that the dramatist was generally careful to provide an "exit-speech" whenever an important character left the stage; nor is it hard to detect among the plays of Euripides more than one specimen of the "star-piece."

Though there may be no Greek equivalents for these technical terms, the things these words denote existed in Greece none the less.

The terminology of the contemporary theatre is precise and copious, although it has not as yet been recorded fully in any dictionary of the English language, or even in any technical vocabulary of its own. A "star-piece," for example, is a play so devised as to display all the histrionic powers of the performer of the chief part. Certain of Shakspere's plays are obviously "star-pieces": *Hamlet*, for one, and *Richard III.*, for another; and so is the *Medea* of Euripides. Medea is not only the "star-part," but the other characters of the play are little more than mere "feeders," — that is to say, they exist, not for their own sake, but solely for their relation to Medea; and they speak, not to reveal themselves, but solely to afford occasion to Medea to express herself fully and at length and under the strain of the most poignant emotions. The character played by the protagonist is all-important, and the characters played by the deuteragonist and by the tritagonist are all of them subordinated and effaced. It is known that there were strolling companies of performers in Greece and in the Grecian colonies, as there have been of late years in Great Britain and the United States (Haigh's *Attic Theatre*, p. 43); and to give a fairly satisfactory performance of the *Medea*, only one great actor was needed.

A renowned Athenian protagonist could "go on the road" with the *Medea*, as certain of pleasing the multitudes who would flock to see him act in the theatres of the smaller Greek cities, as Madame Sarah-Bernhardt is now certain to delight the audiences who fill the playhouses of all the larger towns of the whole world to behold her suffer and die in *La Tosca*. Nor has M. Sardou contrived *La Tosca* more adroitly for this special portability than Euripides composed the *Medea*. Euripides is like M. Sardou in more ways than one; in his exceeding cleverness, for instance, in his dramaturgic dexterity, in his mastery of theatrical device, in his predilection for women as his chief characters.

"It is stated," so Mr. Haigh reminds us in his admirable volume on the *Attic Theatre* (p. 76), citing the authorities for the statement, "that Sophocles was accustomed to write his plays with a view to the capacities of his actors." No one who has investigated the methods of the great modern dramatists would venture to dispute this assertion; and it would be easy to adduce reasons for thinking that Euripides did what Sophocles was accused of doing.[1]

[1] Compare Aristotle, *Poetics*, 9 (1451 b 38).

An analysis of the *Medea* has convinced me that in composing this play, Euripides was, in all probability, carefully "fitting" — to use the technical term of the theatre of to-day — some Athenian actor by whose extraordinary histrionic ability he wished to profit, just as M. Sardou, in composing *La Tosca*, "fitted" Madame Sarah-Bernhardt, just as Molière, for that matter, certainly "fitted" Mademoiselle de Molière when he was writing *Le Misanthrope*, and just as Shakspere possibly "fitted" Master Burbage when he was writing *Hamlet*. And while *Hamlet* and *Le Misanthrope* are the masterpieces of their authors, the *Medea* again is rather like *La Tosca*, in that it owes its permanent popularity to the histrionic opportunities it affords. After all, what we go to the theatre to see is — in the final analysis — acting. Whatever we may like in the library, in the theatre we prefer the plays which give most scope to the actors.

"Exit-speech" is the name given to the final words spoken by a character before he leaves the stage after an important scene. Nowadays, an "exit-speech" is generally a point of one kind or another, rhetorical or jocular. In Shakspere's time, the "exit-speech" generally ended with a couplet, the rhymes of which were signals to the groundlings to be ready with their applause. In the great period of the Spanish drama which was contemporary with the Elizabethan drama of England, the utility of the "exit-speech" was perfectly understood, and in the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* in which Lope de Vega laid down precepts for the guidance of practical dramatists, he advises the 'prentice playwright thus: "Adorn the end of your scenes with some swelling phrase, with some joke, with lines more carefully polished, so that the actor at his exit does not leave the audience in ill-humour." In the Greek drama the "exit-speech" is frequent. In the *Medea*, again, Jason's final words at the end of the stormy scene with his wife, have all the characteristics of the "exit-speech" (619–22): —

> ἀλλ' οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν δαίμονας μαρτύρομαι,
> ὡς πάνθ' ὑπουργεῖν σοί τε καὶ τέκνοις θέλω·
> σοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀρέσκει τἀγάθ', ἀλλ' αὐθαδίᾳ
> φίλους ἀπωθεῖ· τοιγὰρ ἀλγυνεῖ πλέον.

An "exit-speech" also of the most approved type is Medea's, when she leaves the stage after the marvellously pathetic scene with her children, and after the messenger has declared the success of her scheme to kill her rival (1244–50): —

ἄγ' ὦ τάλαινα χεὶρ ἐμὴ, λαβὲ ξίφος,
λάβ', ἕρπε πρὸς βαλβῖδα λυπηρὰν βίου,
καὶ μὴ κακισθῇς, μηδ' ἀναμνησθῇς τέκνων
ὡς φίλταθ', ὡς ἔτικτες· ἀλλὰ τήνδε γε
λαθοῦ βραχεῖαν ἡμέραν παίδων σέθεν,
κἄπειτα θρήνει· καὶ γὰρ εἰ κτενεῖς σφ' ὅμως
φίλοι γ' ἔφυσαν, δυστυχὴς δ' ἐγὼ γυνή.

The complement of the "exit-speech" is the device now known as "working up an entrance." A leading actor likes to have his coming before the audience for the first time in the play, carefully prepared and plainly announced, so that expectancy may be aroused and recognition may follow at once upon his appearance on the stage. Every playgoer can recall instances of the ingenuity with which the modern playwrights have been able to "work up the entrance" of important characters; there is no better example, perhaps, than the first appearance of the heroine in *Adrienne Lecouvreur*, the drama devised for Rachel by Scribe and M. Legouvé. Now this "working up an entrance" for the chief persons of the play, was far more needful in the Greece of old than it is in the Paris and in the New York of to-day, for the Grecian theatres were many times the size of ours, and the actors wore masks which hid their features, and — so far as I know, at least — there were no programmes to aid in identification. Therefore, we find that the Greek dramatists were very careful to "work up the entrance" even of unimportant characters. In the *Medea*, once more, after the prologue in which the nurse declares herself, no person of the play comes on unannounced by some one already on the stage; and the appearance of Medea herself is "worked up" quite in the most modern manner, her loud bewailings off the stage being expounded by the nurse.

The fact is that the psychology of the theatrical spectator is very much the same in all climes and in all ages. The New York boy who perches in the upper gallery of the Broadway Theatre, however deficient in intelligence when compared with the citizen of Athens seated on a marble bench in the beautiful theatre of Dionysus, has needs like his in so far as they are both playgoers. Both demand clearness above all things; both desire not to be left in doubt as to what is going on before them. For a man at the play, understanding is the condition precedent of enjoyment.

It is greatly to be desired that some classical scholar should familiarize himself with the modern theatre, so that he might approach

the study of the drama of antiquity with a full understanding of the present methods of the same art. Much of the value of Patin's *Tragiques Grecs* is due to his knowledge of the French theatre and to his constant use of the modern stage for comparison with the ancient. In this, as in other respects, Professor Mahaffy has followed in Patin's footsteps. But no one has yet done for the Greeks what the late M. Goumy attempted to do for the Latins — to explain the past in terms of the present. It would be too much to say that M. Goumy, who died before he had half finished his task, was wholly successful in finding modern equivalents for ancient experiences. But *Les Latins* is a volume to be read with refreshment and stimulation, and it is good for us to be told that Cæsar's *Commentaries* was really what we Americans might call "a campaign autobiography," and that Cicero did not deliver his orations as they have come down to us, but "asked leave to print," so to speak, that he might polish his periods at leisure.

Though I have neither the scholarship nor the time to undertake the explanation of the ancient drama by the modern theatre in the method I have suggested, I can furnish a few additional instances of parallelism perhaps not unworthy of record. The likeness of the Greek tragedy, with its appropriate music, its slow and stately movement, and its use of local legend, to the Wagnerian music-drama has been dwelt on sufficiently; and, even as I pen these paragraphs, I find in the second number of the new *Revue de Paris* an essay on the specific resemblances of *Die Walküre* to the *Antigone*. But less attention has been drawn to a more recent return to Greek principles of playmaking, Ibsen's presentation of only the culminating point of the plot, and his concentration of all the interest of the action into its compact climax, in which the *Œdipus Rex* itself is scarcely more skilfully contrived than is *Ghosts*.

It may seem most irreverent to suggest a similarity between a masterpiece of humour like the *Frogs* and an amusing modern burlesque like the *Adonis*, in which Mr. Dixey parodied the peculiarities of Mr. Henry Irving, much as some Athenian comedian must have mimicked the mannerisms of Euripides, but nevertheless the similarity of the two pieces is striking enough. Indeed, the difference between *Adonis* and the *Frogs* is due mainly to the fact that the author of *Adonis* was only a clever comic playwright, while the author of the *Frogs* happened also to be a great poet — just as it is also his poetic power which gives Euripides his immeasurable superiority over M. Sardou. In the *Frogs*, for example, Bacchus, in

the costume of Hercules, is like a modern actor in classic attire, crowned with the very latest style of stove-pipe hat; and when Bacchus appeals to his priest sitting officially in front of the stage, he is not unlike the comedian of our time who holds a colloquy with the leader of the band. I confess that the comic servant, Xanthias, in the *Frogs*, complaining that he is not allowed to complain, reminds me of the comic servant, Greppo, in the *Black Crook*, also involved in mysterious adventures which he does not understand.

I wonder whether or not it was a tradition of the Grecian theatres that the performer who played Xanthias, or any other comic servant of the sort, should wear many garments of contrasting colours, superimposed one on the other so that he might excite the laughter of unthinking spectators by removing them one by one. This "business" is traditional with the Second Grave Digger in the *Hamlet* of Shakspere, and with Jodelet in the *Précieuses Ridicules* of Molière; and it is derived probably from some forgotten farce of the Middle Ages, which in turn was possibly descended from some Roman pantomime. Visible jests of this kind are very long-lived, and no doubt many of them passed over from the Latin *fabulæ Atellanæ* to the Italian *commedie dell' arte*.

For the adapted comedies of Plautus and Terence, with abundant Roman allusions flowering out of Grecian plots, more or less skilfully transplanted, there are many modern parallels. It is not at all uncommon to see on the modern English-speaking stage a French or a German play, roughly twisted into conformity with the conditions of British or American life. They may be amusing, like Mr. Augustin Daly's later adaptations from the German, or they may be exciting like some of his earlier adaptations from the French; yet there cannot but be always an obvious and inevitable unreality in any drama merely decanted in this fashion. While the comedies of Plautus may thus be likened, not unfairly, to the modern English localized arrangements of foreign plays, the skill with which the Latin dramatist presented the every-day life of the Roman household and market-place suggests that his comedies may also be compared with the amusing and broadly sketched pieces in which Mr. Harrigan has most amusingly set before us the characteristics of the polyglot population of New York.

Perhaps no peculiarity of Greek comedy has seemed stranger to latterday commentators than the parabasis; and yet to discover modern equivalents even for this is not difficult. I think it is even possible to derive from our own experience the reason why the earlier

dramatists were moved to make use of this device. The parabasis — so Müller describes it in the *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece* (i. p. 401) — is "an address of the chorus in the middle of the comedy"; and in it "the poet makes his chorus speak of his own poetical affairs, of the object and end of his productions, of his services to the state, of his relation to his rivals, and so forth." Then the chorus sings a lyrical poem, and recites in trochaic verse "some joking complaint, some reproach against the city, some witty sally against the people." It is this second part of the parabasis that Professor Mahaffy, in his *History of Greek Literature* (i. chap. xx.) likens to the "topical song" of the modern burlesque, "which is always composed on current events, and has verses added from week to week, as new points of public interest crop up."

The first part of the parabasis, wherein the poet makes the chorus his own mouthpiece, and addresses the audience almost in his own person, is very closely akin to the Elizabethan prologue, in which the dramatist discussed the play about to be performed, in which occasionally he abused his rivals, and in which he sometimes vaunted himself. And here the prologue, like the parabasis, performed a useful function; for as the psychology of the playgoer changes but little through the ages, so also the psychology of the playwright is substantially the same in Periclean Athens and in Elizabethan London. Above all things, the spectator wants to be able to understand what he is seeing, and the dramatist wishes to have his work seen from his own point of view. The playwright is glad to have the right of rising to a personal explanation. Nowadays the novelist and the poet can declare in a preface the code by which they wish to be judged. The dramatist cannot avail himself of this privilege; and the prologue or the parabasis is the only preface he is permitted. If he cannot get the ear of the public for an explanation outside of his work, he must perforce make this explanation a part of the work itself, placing it either at the beginning, as Ben Jonson did, or in the middle, as did Aristophanes.

The frequency with which the prologue was made to perform this function is well brought out in *A Study of the Prologue and Epilogue in English Literature* (by "G. S. B.," London, 1884), wherein it is shown that the prologue was of real service to Ben Jonson, and that it was useful even to Dryden, although he had already other means of reaching the public ear. The prologue and the epilogue still accompanied new plays at the end of the last century, although they had ceased to have any close connection with the pieces before and

after which they were spoken. It is obvious that the prologue and epilogue in Sheridan's plays, for example, are mere survivals of an outworn fashion.

Yet even in this century, when the dramatist can call on the journalists to publish abroad any declaration he may desire to make, there are occasions when the temptation to expound his own theories of his art inside the work of art itself are too strong to be overcome. In the *Antony* of the elder Dumas, in the fourth act, there is a discussion between Eugène and the Baron de Marsanne about Romanticism, — what is this but a prose parabasis cut into dialogue? And in the *Denise* of the younger Dumas, the analysis of the thesis of the piece by Thouvenin, — in what manner does this differ essentially from the parabasis? So frequent has been the use of a character like Thouvenin by M. Dumas *fils*, and by certain of his contemporaries, that the French critics have been forced to find a name for this new stage-type; they call the character who explains the play a *raisonneur*. As it happens, the delivery of the parabasis is not the sole duty of the *raisonneur*, for he performs other functions of the chorus, of which multiple personality he may be supposed to be a condensation into a single person. He listens to the talk of the hero and of the heroine, taking the part of the *confident* of French tragedy (itself a feeble substitute for the chorus of Greek tragedy); he asks the proper questions to evoke the fullest expression of the hero's and the heroine's sentiments; he is properly sympathetic; and he also serves as a speaking-trumpet for the author, being sometimes, as in *Les Idées de Madame Aubrey*, charged with the utterance of the final moral.

To the ancient chorus and to the modern *raisonneur*, there was even a mediæval analogue. In the interludes — which followed the mysteries and the moralities, and which with them prepared players and playgoers for the coming of the dramatized chronicle and of the romantic drama — "not infrequently," so Symonds records in his *Shakspere's Predecessors in the English Drama* (p. 176) "a Doctor, surviving from the Expositor of the miracles, interpreted the allegory as the action proceeded."

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

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Ovid's Use of Colour and of Colour-Terms.

"Besides these historical pictures there is a charm, not to be neglected, in some of the short descriptions of nature:

> Saepe sub autumno cum formosissimus annus
> Plenaque purpureo subrubet uva mero. (*A. A.* ii. 315.)

Or

> Palluit ut serae lectis de vita racemis
> Pallescunt frondes quas nova laesit hiemps. (*A. A.* iii. 703.)

Here, as elsewhere, it is the beauty of colour rather than of form, that Ovid recognises." Thus brief and unsatisfying is the single reference in Sellar's chapter on Ovid, in his *Elegiac Poets*, to Ovid's love of colour. This is, notwithstanding, one of the most characteristic aspects of the poet's artistic temperament. Less prominent, certainly, in the poems of exile than in those of the happier years that preceded, Ovid's sensuous delight in the play of colour finds its expression in the work of every period of his life, now in isolated touches, now in highly wrought passages of chromatic harmony or contrast. In his perception of landscape the note of colour is conspicuously present. The changing lights of sea and of sky, especially the glories of the dawn, have for him an unceasing attraction. And, as in his studies of nature, so in the pictures of the beings, divine and human, that move amid his varied scenes, colour is one of the most noticeable elements in the composition. To quote but a few instances out of many, we find in the *Metamorphoses* "the wonderful description that gave the idea of Guido's famous picture of Aurora":

> Aureus axis erat, temo aureus, aurea summae
> Curvatura rotae, radiorum argenteus ordo.
> Per iuga chrysolithi positaeque ex ordine gemmae
> Clara repercusso reddebant lumina Phoebo.
> Dumque ea magnanimus Phaëthon miratur opusque
> Perspicit, ecce vigil rutilo patefecit ab ortu
> Purpureas Aurora fores et plena rosarum
> Atria. diffugiunt stellae, quarum agmina cogit
> Lucifer, et caeli statione novissimus exit.

Quem petere ut terras mundumque rubescere vidit,
Cornuaque extremae velut evanescere lunae:
Iungere equos Titan velocibus imperat Horis. (*M.* ii. 107–118.)

Now he depicts the rainbow:

Qualis ab imbre solet percussis solibus arcus
Inficere ingenti longum curvamine caelum:
In quo diversi niteant cum mille colores,
Transitus ipse tamen spectantia lumina fallit:
Usque adeo quod tangit idem est; tamen ultima distant.
(*M.* vi. 63–67.)

Now the resplendent figure of Phœbus kindles his fancy:

Ille caput flavum lauro Parnaside vinctus
Verret humum Tyrio saturata murice palla:
Instrictamque fidem gemmis et dentibus Indis
Sustinet a laeva: tenuit manus altera plectrum. (*M.* xi. 165–168.)

One famous elegy gives us the vivid description of Corinna's pet parrot:

Tu poteras fragiles pinnis hebetare zmaragdos
Tincta gerens rubro Punica rostra croco. (*Am.* ii. 6. 21–22.)

But especially does he revel in similes for a blush on a fair face:

Conscia purpureus venit in ora pudor,
Quale coloratum Tithoni coniuge caelum
Subrubet aut sponso visa puella novo,
Quale rosae fulgent inter sua lilia mixtae,
Aut ubi cantatis Luna laborat equis,
Aut quod, ne longis flavescere possit ab annis,
Maeonis Assyrium femina tinxit ebur. (*Am.* ii. 5. 34–40.)

These are similes that linger in his mind, and reappear in part in *M.* iv. 329 and *M.* vi. 46. We may compare, too, the portrait of Narcissus in *M.* iii. 480–485. At the opening of the *Amores* we are met by the dainty vision of Love:

Laeta triumphanti de summo mater Olympo
Plaudet et adpositas sparget in ora rosas,
Tu pinnas gemma, gemma variante capillos
Ibis in auratis aureus ipse rotis. (*Am.* i. 2. 39–42.)

And finally, in a passage full of colour, we have pictured the effect of the tremulous flame of the sacrifice upon the golden roof of the temple of Jupiter:

Flamma nitore suo templorum verberat aurum,
Et tremulum summa spargit in aede iubar. (*F.* i. 77–78.)

It is evident then that even a cursory reader cannot fail to be impressed by the range of Ovid's observation of colour. To a closer student certain questions will be apt to suggest themselves. How far, it may be asked, is the colour world of Ovid a world of convention? Is his observation of colour discriminating? Given the same object, seen under varying conditions of atmosphere or immediate surroundings, will the colour-term applied vary accordingly? Is his use of colour in any wise as scientifically accurate as his portrayal of certain sides of human character? Again, what are the values of the terms employed? Considered relatively to the number of tints that might be discriminated, the resources of a Latin poet's λήκνθοι were inevitably slender, and he had not, like the Pictors of his nation, the power of increasing them by mixing the materials with which he worked. His appreciation of tone might be delicate and precise; his expression of tone must, in many cases, be approximate only. We may expect therefore that, to quote the words (slightly altered) of a most subtle and suggestive essay,[1] "each colour-term will express a group of allied tints, grading up and down the vertical spectrum, toward the colour-terms that lie nearest. In *caeruleus*, for example, there must lie not only the meaning of pure blue, as found in *caelum*, but also on both sides of blue a large number of distinct tints, closely allied to blue, but grading off, tint by tint, on the upper side toward green, and on the lower side toward violet." What then in Ovid is the exact range of each term employed? Finally, what relation does Ovid's observation and use of colour sustain to the actual occurrence of colour as established by science? Does he show any preferences? If so, what interpretation may be placed upon them?

The aim of the present paper is then threefold:

(1) To present in an orderly manner, following as far as possible the succession found in the spectrum, all instances of the use of each colour-term, with a view of determining in detail the range of the term in question and also the range of the poet's observation of colour in nature.

(2) To note the effect of change in the environment of objects upon the choice of the colour-term in the (comparatively few) cases in which the epithets applied vary.

(3) To determine Ovid's colour-preferences.

[1] *The Color-System of Vergil*, by Thomas R. Price, Am. Journal of Phil., vol. iv., pp. 1–20, a paper to which the author is very deeply indebted.

The Merkel-Ehwald text has been adopted as the basis of the citations. Consequently, in the case of the Heroides, only the first fourteen have been taken into consideration. Furthermore, many phrases involving colour occur in Ovid which are nevertheless of no value for the treatment here purposed, since the colours so referred to are altogether indefinite; *e.g. Tot fuerant illic, quot habet natura, colores,* | *Pictaque dissimili flore nitebat humus* (*F.* iv. 429–30). These passages, which are very numerous, though they strengthen the colour element in the poems, have been here disregarded. Only the terms for high colour will be discussed in full. Cases in which the terms for the so-called whites, blacks, and grays are indicative of high colour seen under peculiar conditions will be noted under their appropriate heads.

Ruber. — The generic term. Cf. Schmidt, *Handbuch der lateinischen u. griechischen Synonymik*, p. 221: "Wir finden alle Stufen des roten damit bezeichnet, vom purpurroten, blutroten und sharlachroten bis zum orangeroten (bei der Morgenröte)." With this definition Ovid's usage accords. At one extreme we find the word used of the purplish hue of grapes, *uva subrubet purpureo mero* (*A. A.* ii. 316); so of the pinkish lilac of certain varieties of the heliotrope, *est in parte rubor* (*M.* iv. 268); then of the crimson of the Tyrian purple, *de Tyrio murice, lana, rubes* (*A. A.* iii. 170), and *Tyrio rubentia suco terga premunt* (*M.* vi. 222); so of the varying tones of crimson in general, dark, as of blood after it has left the body (*Am.* ii. 16. 40; *M.* iv. 482, viii. 383, xi. 19, 375, xii. 71, 382, xiii. 394, 888; *T.* iv. 6. 34; *P.* iii. 2, 54; *F.* ii. 212), lightening into rose and rose-pink, as in *saxa roratis erubuisse rosis* (*P.* ii. 1. 36), and (by implication) in *Quali rosae fulgent inter sua lilia mixtae* (*Am.* ii. 5. 37). The function of this last case affords a natural transition to the flesh tints of the human face. Here *ruber* is used of the natural (or artificial) glow of health in maiden or in youthful hero, as in *Am.* iii. 3. 5, 6 (v. *roseus*), and also *Sanguine quae vero non rubet, arte rubet* (*A. A.* iii. 200) [cf. *rubri nitri*, "rouge" (*Med.* 73)], of Narcissus, *candor mixtus rubori* (*M.* iii. 423, 491), of Hippolytus, in *H.* iv. 72, for which v. *flavus*. Similarly of a blush, once only expressed by *rubere* (*Am.* i. 14. 47; cf. the double sense of *Am.* i. 13. 47), 18 times by *rubescere* or *erubescere* (*M.* i. 755, ii. 460, iv. 330, v. 584, vi. 46, viii. 388, ix. 471, x. 293; *Am.* i. 8. 35, ii. 8. 7 and 16; *H.* xi. 35; *T.* iii. 1. 14, iv. 3. 6; *T.* v. 11. 6; *Ibis* 350; *F.* ii. 168, 828), so by *rubor* (*M.* i. 484, ii. 450, iv. 329; *Am.* i. 14. 52; *A. A.*

iii. 83; *T.* iii. 7. 26, iv. 3. 50; *F.* v. 69), in *Am.* i. 8. 35,[1] *decet alba pudor ora* by *pudor*. In like manner *ruber* is used of the flush of anger (*M.* viii. 466), of the breast beaten in sorrow (*M.* iii. 482), and of the flush of fever (*M.* vii. 555). In another field of observation, it expresses the tints, varying through admixture of blue or of yellow, of the sky at dawn (*Am.* i. 13. 47, ii. 5. 36; *M.* ii. 116, iii. 600, xiii. 581; *F.* iv. 165). Once we find the word used of the pure scarlet of the arbute berry (*M.* x. 101). Descending the spectrum toward yellow, we find *ruber* used to denote the brilliant red of vermilion, of a wax tablet, *tamquam minio penitus medicata rubebas* (*Am.* i. 12. 11), of Priapus (*F.* i. 400, 415, vi. 333; once *rubicundus* is applied, *F.* vi. 319; cf. Kiessling *ad* Hor. *Sat.* i. 8. 5, "die ganze mit Mennig angestrichene Gestalt des Gottes"). Rubicundus is further used twice of the brownish red of a face much exposed to sun and wind, contrasted with the *niveus color* (*F.* ii. 763) of the Roman ladies, so in *Med.* 13 of the *matrona Tatio sub rege*, and accentuated in *coniunx Umbri rubicunda mariti* (*A. A.* iii. 303). Returning to the order of the spectrum, we note the characterization of the fiery eyes of a *belua* (*M.* xi. 365), of swans' feet (*M.* ii. 375), of heated iron (*M.* xii. 277; cf. *ferrum candens*, *F.* iv. 287). Used of the red disk of the sun when rising and setting, in contrast with *candidus*, its epithet when *in summo* (*M.* xv. 193); so too of the moon in eclipse (*hic color est*) *sub candore rubenti,* | *Cum frustra resonant aera auxiliaria, lunae* (*M.* iv. 332; cf. *Am.* i. 8. 12, ii. 5. 38, and *M.* vii. 207–8). Finally, we note the orange-red of the pomegranate (*P.* iv. 15. 8; cf. the reference to its scarlet blossoms in *M.* x. 736), of the stigmata of saffron (*F.* i. 342) and of its essence (*Am.* ii. 6. 22; *A. A.* i. 104). The tones of wine (*F.* v. 511) and of apples (*M.* iii. 484) vary so as to make classification impossible. *Cancri signa rubescunt* (*F.* vi. 727) is probably to be explained from the association of red with heat. Cf. Blümner, p. 172.

Red darkening from defect of luminosity is termed *niger* or *ater*, as of blood (*M.* xii. 326 and *M.* xii. 256, vii. 259). In the last case *ater* is the more appropriate, since it is applied not directly to *sanguis*, but to *fossa*.

[1] The use of *alba* here is worthy of note. H. Blümner, *Die Farbenbezeichnungen bei den römischen Dichtern*, Berliner Studien, vol. xiii. p. 5, says of *albus*: "Im Sinne von *candidus*, also wirklich als zartes, anmuthiges Weiss, finden wir es nur Hor. *Carm.* ii. 5. 18; id., *Sat.* i. 2. 36; Mart. xi. 84. 3; Claud. *in Olyb. et Prob.* 90. Das sind aber die einzigen Stellen, welche man dafür anführen kann." This passage should evidently be added.

Sanguineus. — Blood-red, dark or light; cf. Schmidt, p. 224: "bezeichnet ein dunkles, dem braunen sich näherndes rot." It is for Ovid a vivid tone, finding its standard in nature in the anemone, whose blossom is compared with the scarlet flowers of the pomegranate, *flos de sanguine concolor ortus,* | *Qualem, quae lento celant sub cortice granum,* | *Punica ferre solent* (*M.* x. 735–7). Cf. Haupt-Korn *ad loc.*, and also J. A. Symonds, *Sketches and Studies in Southern Europe*, vol. i. p. 13, "far and wide, red anemones burn like fire." The adjective is applied to the moon under the influence of "*carmina*" (*Am.* ii. 1. 23), and the cognate *sanguinolentus* is declared to be properly applicable to the unfortunate wax tablet, which is red, *tamquam minio penitus medicata* (*Am.* i. 12. 12). In both these cases the metaphysical associations of blood itself seem to be involved.

Roseus. — Cf. Price, p. 14, "rose-red with blue tinge, light or dark." So once of Ovid's favourite contrast, *Candida candorem roseo suffusa rubore,* | *Ante fuit; niveo lucet in ore rubor* (*Am.* iii. 3. 5, 6). Otherwise only of Aurora and (by natural transition) of her attributes (*A. A.* iii. 84; *M.* vii. 705; *P.* i. 4. 58; *F.* v. 159; *Am.* i. 8. 4; *F.* iv. 714).

Puniceus. — Cf. Schmidt, p. 226, "Die rein rote Farbe wird als *puniceus* bezeichnet." Properly, then, of scarlet, as in *M.* xii. 104, where it is applied to the cloths used to inflame the bull in the arena; cf. Siebelis-Polle *ad loc.* At times, however, rather crimson, as in *M.* xiv. 345, where the royal *chlamys* of Picus, in l. 395 termed *purpurea*, is called *punicea.* In this latter sense it is applied to blood flowing from a wound (*M.* ii. 607, iv. 728, xiii. 887; *P.* iv. 7. 20). In the first case cited it is thrown into relief by the "*candida membra.*" The word shows, also, a tinge of orange as used of the pomegranate (*M.* v. 536) and of the saffron (*F.* v. 318). In the description of the parrot, *Tincta gerens rubro Punica rostra croco* (*Am.* ii. 6. 22), the tint should perhaps be taken as scarlet. Finally, we find the term applied to wax (*Am.* iii. 7. 29).

Minium. — Red oxide of lead, cinnabar, vermilion; cf. Schmidt, p. 225, "nähert sich noch mehr (than *coccinus*) dem gelben, so dass es den Übergang in die orangerote Farbe bildet." Twice used by Ovid, once in *Am.* i. 12. 11, already discussed, and again in "one of the *loci classici* for ancient books, *T.* i. 1. 7, of the *titulus.* Cf. S. G. Owen, *Tristia*, I., App.

Flammeus. — Cf. Schmidt, p. 225, "orange farbig, umfasst ohne Zweifel die verschiedenen Stufen vom orangeroten bis zum orange-

gelben." In Ovid's single use of the word red is markedly predominant. This occurs, *H.* xii. 107, in the *lumina flammea* of the *draco* guarding the Golden Fleece. We may note also the colour use of the noun in *flammas imitante pyropo* (*M.* ii. 2), part of the gorgeous description of the palace of Phœbus. Cf. Haupt-Korn, *ad loc.*

Rutilus. — Cf. Schmidt, p. 224, "ursprünglicher die Bezeichnung für lebhaft metallisch oder feurig funkelnde gelbrote Farben." A tone of high luminosity always. So of a jet of arterial blood (*M.* v. 83), of the vivid reds of dawn (*M.* ii. 112), of the flashing light of flames (*M.* iv. 403, xii. 294) and of lightning (*M.* xi. 436; *H.* iii. 64; *F.* iii. 285). So, too, of lustrous reddish golden hair (*M.* ii. 319, 635; *M.* vi. 715). In the last instance one should note that in l. 718, *flavescere* is used as its equivalent.

Flavus-fulvus. — Cf. Schmidt, p. 218. "*Flavus* is nur gelb oder blond," and p. 219, "Die Bedeutungs-Gebiet von *fulvus* ist weit umfassender. Es umfasst das von *flavus* mit, so dass z. B. das Gold und die Sterne ebenfalls so genannt werden; nur denkt man nicht an ein blasses gelb, da in einer anzufürenden Stelle nicht von *cera fulva* die Rede ist, wie es nach den Angaben der Wörterbücher erscheint, sondern von Wachs 'so *fulvus* wie möglichst gesättigt gelb.' — Man muss also bestimmen: '*fulvus* bedeutet gelb in allen Stufen, mit Ausname der ganz blassen, und mit allen Übergängen ins braune und das braune selbst.'" *Flavus* finds its standard in nature for Ovid in the waters and sands of the Tiber (*M.* xiv. 448; *T.* v. 1. 31; *F.* vi. 228); cf. Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*, p. 3. Similarly of the river Lycormas (*M.* ii. 245), of the sands of the shore (*M.* xv. 722), and of the sands of the arena (*Ibis* 47); cf. too (Alcides) *fulvae tactu flavescit harenae* (*M.* ix. 36), where the close relationship of the two terms may be seen. Again, *flavus* is applied to the hair of apes (*M.* xiv. 97), to the wings of the Sirens (*M.* v. 560), to the manes of horses (*M.* xiii. 848), so of the Centaur Chiron (*F.* v. 380, cf. the *aurea coma* of Cyllarus, *M.* xii. 395), to gold (*M.* viii. 701, ix. 688), to honey (*M.* i. 112; *F.* iii. 746), to cakes (*F.* vi. 476), to chamomile (*A. A.* ii. 418), to cedar-oil (*T.* iii. 1. 13), to wax (*M.* iii. 487, viii. 198, 670), to the hue of old ivory (*Am.* ii. 5. 39). In the majority of cases in Ovid, however (28 out of 51), *flavus* is used of the golden yellow hair, so much prized by the Romans. So, especially of Ceres (*Am.* iii. 10. 3, 43; *M.* vi. 118; *F.* iv. 424), where it seems to be used because it had become a fixed epithet, for Ovid never uses *flavus* of grain, but only *canus* (*M.* i.

110, x. 655; *Am.* iii. 10. 39; *T.* iv. 6. 11; in *M.* vi. 456, *canus* characterizes the faded stalks, cf. *M.* xii. 274). Further, of Minerva (*Am.* i. 1. 7, 8; *M.* ii. 749, vi. 130, viii. 275; *T.* i. 10. 1; *F.* vi. 652), of Aurora (*Am.* i. 13. 2), of *puellae* in general (*Am.* i. 1. 29, ii. 4. 39, 43, iii. 7. 23; *H.* v. 122; *M.* ix. 307, 715; *F.* ii. 763, v. 609). So of gods and of youthful heroes (*Am.* i. 15. 35; *M.* vi. 718, xi. 165; *H.* xii. 11; *M.* iii. 617; *F.* iii. 60), and finally of the Coralli (*P.* iv. 2. 37). One case deserves note: *Flava verecundus tinxerat ora rubor* (*H.* iv. 72). Here *flava* cannot refer to the hair of Hippolytus. E. S. Shuckburgh in his note *ad loc.* translates "sunbrowned." The passage is overlooked by Blümner, p. 109, who cites Sen. *Phædr.* 660 (evidently an imitation of Ovid), and adds, "Da sicherlich vom goldgelben Bartflaum die Rede ist, so könnte man an nitor denken." (!) *Fulvus*, like *flavus*, is used of sand (*M.* ii. 865, ix. 36, x. 716, xi. 355), so of the arena (*T.* iv. 6. 31). A darker tone is possibly implied, as seems highly probable, in its application to the hair of heroes (*M.* xii. 273; *P.* iii. 2. 74; two cases only, against six of *flavus*). Again, of ashwood (*M.* vii. 678), of myrrh (*M.* xv. 399), of the yellow stripes of the woodpecker (*M.* xiv. 395). Certainly in the sense of "tawny," when applied to the wings of birds, as of the *avis Iovis*, the *aquila chrysaëtus* (*F.* v. 732), of the *bubo* (*M.* v. 546), of the *haliaëtos* (*M.* viii. 146), so of the wings of Cæneus (*M.* xii. 524). Further used of lions (*H.* x. 85; *M.* i. 304, x. 551, 698; *F.* ii. 339), of the wolf (*M.* xi. 771), of the boar (*A. A.* ii. 373), and of horse-hair plumes, darkened after cutting (*M.* xii. 89). It is Ovid's favourite epithet for gold, 12 cases out of 37 in all (*Am.* ii. 11. 4; *H.* vi. 14; *A. A.* iii. 335; *M.* x. 648, xi. 103, 124, xiv. 345, 395; *T.* i. 5. 25, 7. 7; *P.* iii. 8. 3). So twice used of *aes* (*M.* i. 115; *H.* iii. 31). Finally, it is twice employed in reference to storm clouds (*M.* iii. 273, and *M.* vi. 707); cf., however, Blümner, p. 118.

Aureus. — The lustrous yellow of gold. A term, the use of which does not necessarily imply the perception of colour. Such perception, however, seems certainly to be involved in the following instances in Ovid: *aureus sol* (*M.* vii. 663), applied to hair (*Am.* i. 14. 9; *M.* xv. 316), or to hair and beard of the Centaur Cyllarus (*M.* xii. 395), to grapes (*M.* xiii. 813), to a snake (*M.* iii. 32, cf. Haupt-Korn, *ad loc.*) and to the god Æsculapius in form of a serpent (*M.* xv. 669), to honey (*F.* iv. 546). In *aureus aether* (*M.* xiii. 587), *aurea Luna* (*M.* ii. 723, x. 448), it seems to be little more than a poetic epithet. The exact value of the remaining instances, which

are in Ovid very numerous, is determinable with difficulty. Now the idea of material, now the thought of splendour, seems to be involved. One is, perhaps, justified in finding the notion of colour in cases where *aureus* or *aurum* is associated with a definite colour-term, as often with *purpureus*. If this be correct, the following passages may be added: *Am.* i. 2. 42, iii. 2. 44, iii. 13, 29; *H.* xiii. 32; *Med.* 18; *A. A.* i. 214, ii. 299; *M.* ii. 2, 107 (3 times), iii. 556, v. 52, vi. 166, 567, viii. 448, 701; *P.* iii. 424; *F.* iv. 135, v. 28.

Croceus. — According to Schmidt, p. 220, "ist ein gesättigtes, nicht ins rötliche fallendes reines gelb," but rather, for Ovid at least, as Price puts it, p. 14, "yellow tinged with red." Cf. the only Ovidian colour epithets of crocus, *puniceus* and *ruber*, also Ps. Ov. *H.* xx. [xxi.] 162, *trahitur multo splendida palla croco*, and l. 168, *Quique erat in palla, transit in ora rubor.* So in robe of Hymen (*M.* x. 1), and in *A. A.* iii. 179. Of golden hair (*A. A.* i. 530 and *Am.* ii. 4, 43), cited under *flavus*, where its close connection with that term is seen. Twice of Aurora (*F.* iii. 403; *M.* iii. 150). Finally, of the narcissus (*M.* iii. 509), cf. Haupt-Korn *ad loc.*, "Unter den verschieden Arten des Narcissus, die man hatte, führt die Beschreibung auf unsere weisse Tazette mit gelbem Kelche."

Cereus. — Wax-yellow. Adjective does not occur, but noun is used as colour standard in description of plums (*M.* xiii. 818), of dress (*A. A.* iii. 184), and of the pallor of the face (*P.* i. 10. 28). The thought of definite colour in the *splendida cera* of *Am.* i. 11. 20 is doubtful, even if one compares the following poem, ll. 11–12.

Buxeus. — Cf. Schmidt, p. 220, "ist ein besonderer Ausdruck für eine braünliche unreine Farbe, der änlich welche Buchsbaumholz hat." Adjective does not occur, but noun is used as colour standard of the pallor of the face (*M.* iv. 135, xi. 418). Cf. Haupt-Korn *ad loc.*

Ravus. — Cf. "*Ravus color dicitur niger mixtus cum fulvo*," Acron *ad* Hor. *C.* iii. 27. 3. So in Ovid, evidently as term of depreciation, in the well-known *ὑποκορίσματα* passage, *A. A.* ii. 659, *Si paetast, Veneri similis, si rava, Minervae,* sc. *vocetur.* Cf. the constant application of *flava* to Minerva in Ovid.

Luteus. — Cf. Blümner, p. 126, "Mit Wau erreicht man ein Schönes Gelb von verschiedenen, auch in das Grünliche und Röthliche fallenden Schattirungen." Ovid's standard in nature is sulphur (*M.* xv. 351). Blümner, p. 128, maintains that in this case the word "bedeutet einfach gelb." Possibly so, but one is tempted to adopt a different line of reasoning. The colour of sulphur is not pure

yellow, rather greenish yellow; and if this is really Ovid's physical standard for *luteus*, his use of the word is scientifically accurate. For in the other three cases of its occurrence (*M.* vii. 703, xiii. 579; *F.* iv. 714), it is used of Aurora, and always in contrast with *roseus* or *rubescere*. Now the effect of rose on yellow is to superinduce a greenish tone, as is actually observable in the sky. Cf. O. Rood, *Modern Chromatics*, p. 245. *Luteus* would then be Ovid's term for a greenish yellow as opposed to *croceus*, a reddish yellow. Schmidt, at all events, is not correct in saying, p. 220, "Die Beziehung des Wortes auf den Schwefel bei Ov. Met. 15. 351, muss deshalb als eine Übertreibung betrachtet werden."

Among the yellows should also be reckoned the colour use of certain objects with hue defined in nature. None occurs more than once. So the wood of the cedar (*Am.* i. 14. 12), *glandes* and *amygdala* (*A. A.* iii. 183), *electrum* (*M.* xv. 316), quinces and unripe cornel-cherries (*A. A.* iii. 705–6), a passage where the yellow leaves of autumn are also used in a simile, v. *viridis*, fin.

Viridis. — Cf. Blümner, p. 209, "*viridis* ist eben grün in allen Nüancen, vom hellsten bis zum dunkelsten." Properly, according to Price, p. 14, of "young leaves of trees, young grasses." So simply as an element in landscape, of *herba* (*Am.* ii. 16. 6; *M.* iii. 86, 502, iv. 301, ix. 655; *F.* iii. 525, iv. 395), of *area* (*Am.* iii. 5. 5; *M.* x. 87), of *pratum* (*M.* i. 297, xiii. 924), of *humus* (*F.* vi. 330), of *caespes* (*A. A.* iii. 688; *M.* x. 166, xv. 573; *T.* v. 5. 9), of *ripae* (*M.* ii. 371), of *silva* (*F.* i. 243; *M.* iii 324), of *lucus* (*M.* xiv. 837), of foliage and of bark (*M.* iv. 505, viii. 663, x. 97, 137, xi. 27, xii. 22; *A. A.* ii. 3; *T.* iv. 1. 43; *F.* iv. 363; *Ibis* 237; and *A. A.* ii. 649). Sometimes as a background to throw other objects into relief, as in *et nunc adludit viridique exsultat in herba,* | *nunc latus in fulvis niveum deponit harenis* (*M.* ii. 864–5), and in *Am.* iii. 5. 22; so of the *draco* which *sparsit virides spumis albentibus agros* (*M.* vii. 415), cf., too, *tellus* | *purpureum viridi genuit de caespite florem* (*M.* xiii. 395). *Viridis* is also used for more general effect of contrast, either in thought as in *Am.* i. 14. 22, where the *viride gramen* is the foil of the *purpureus torus* of l. 20, and in *P.* i. 3. 52, where the *salices* and *robora* are opposed to the *perpetuae nives* of l. 50; so in *P.* iii. 4. 90; *F.* iii. 139 (cf., however, *T.* iii. 1. 45), where different tones of the laurel are in question; in the second passage the loss of freshness is indicated by the use of *cana*, or in actual juxtaposition, as in *laesas iubet revirescere silvas* (*M.* ii. 408) and in *M.* vii. 280, 284; *T.* iv. 9. 14, so again in *coepere virescere telae,* | *Inque hederae faciem*

pendens frondescere vestis (*M.* iv. 394–5), where the picture is completed by the addition of *Purpura fulgorem pictis accommodat uvis* (l. 398). Here may be put, also, *Aut virides malvas aut fungos colligit albos* (*F.* iv. 697) and *Cornibus hic fractis, viridi male tectus ab ulva, | Decolor ipse suo sanguine Rhenus erat* (*T.* iv. 2. 41–2). Three passages deserve special note: *Summa virent pinu, cetera quercus habet* (*F.* v. 382); here the pines have relatively higher illumination; cf. Rood, p. 181. *Flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice mella* (*M.* i. 112); here the green of the ilex is emphasized by the yellow honey. Elsewhere the ilex is contrasted with the lighter greens of the landscape, and is termed *atra* (*H.* xii. 67) or *nigra* (*M.* ix. 665; *F.* ii. 165; *Am.* ii. 6. 49; *F.* iii. 295). Similarly, *Vos quoque sub viridi myrto iubet ipsa lavari* (*F.* iv. 139) should be compared with *Ros maris et lauri nigraque myrtus olent* (*A. A.* iii. 690). In the first line we have comparatively high luminosity and contrast with the colour of the hair (cf., perhaps, *Am.* i. 1. 29); in the second, shadow and contrast with the brighter green of the grass. Further, we find the word used of frogs (*M.* xv. 375, vi. 380), of a snake (*M.* ix. 267), and metaphorically of Invidia (*M.* ii. 777), of the painted Britons in a colour contrast with red (*Am.* ii. 16. 39). Descending the spectrum, we find *viridis* applied to the bluish green of the sea (*F.* iv. 164; *A. A.* i. 402, ii. 92, iii. 130, in the last case contrasted with the pearl-divers, the *decolor* (= *fuscus*) *Indus*). Then by natural imagery it is used of the deities of sea, of river, or of spring (*T.* i. 2. 59; *M.* ii. 12; *H.* v. 57; *M.* xiii. 960, ix. 32, v. 575). In the four cases (*A. A.* iii. 557; *T.* iii. 1. 7, iv. 10. 17; *P.* iv. 12. 30), in which the word is applied to the season of "youth," the consciousness of colour is perhaps questionable. Finally we should note the use of *pallescere* of the *frondes quas nova laesit hiemps* (*A. A.* 704).

Vitreus. — Cf. Price, p. 14, properly, "of greenish antique glass, of transparent green." Probably the *vitreae undae* of *M.* v. 48 should be classed here.

Smaragdus. — Emerald green. So twice expressive of colour, *M.* ii. 24 and *Am.* i. 14. 12.

Thalassinus. — Cf. Schmidt, p. 217, "Man kann bestimmen als ein grün welches einen gewissen Ton von violett hat." Cf., however, Munro, *ad Lucr.*, iv. 1127. The term is probably represented by *Hic (color) undas imitatur, habet quoque nomen ab undis* (*A. A.* iii. 177), a passage in which the different colours of robes are noted at length.

Ferrugo. — Ovid's conception of this word is definitely fixed by the *viridem ferrugine barbam* and *caerula bracchia* of the metamorphosed Glaucus (*M.* xiii. 960–2); cf. Siebelis-Polle *ad loc.* It is then a dark bluish green, approaching blackness in the *atra ferrugine* of *M.* xv. 789, and in the *obscura tinctas ferrugine habenas* (*M.* v. 404) of Dis (cf. his *equi caerulei*, *F.* iv. 446). As dye-stuff in *M.* ii. 798, and also *Ibis* 233.

Caeruleus. — The generic term. Cf. Price, p. 15, "Physical standard, blue sky, normal tint of Mediterranean." So of sky by day, *caerula caeli* (*M.* xiv. 814; *F.* ii. 487); cf. *Aeris ecce color, tum cum sine nubibus aer* (*A. A.* iii. 173), so of the deeper blue of night (*F.* iii. 449); approaching black in the storm clouds, *caeruleus imber* (*H.* vii. 94), and in the appearance of Lucifer as portending the death of Cæsar (*M.* xv. 789; cf. Siebelis-Polle *ad loc.*), darker still of the horses of Dis (*F.* iv. 446). Again of the blue of the sea (*Am.* ii. 11. 12; *M.* ii. 528, viii. 229, xiii. 838, xv. 699; *A. A.* iii. 126; *H.* v. 42, vi. 67; *P.* ii. 10. 33), so even when darkened in storm (*T.* i. 4. 25, 11. 40); cf. the use of *niger* of the storm-tossed waters at night (*M.* xi. 568). Of the dark waters of the Black Sea, *Quin etiam, stagno similis pigraeque paludi,* | *Caeruleus vix est diluiturque color* (*P.* iv. 10. 61–2), and in *P.* iii. 5. 2. Of the blue of rivers and of springs (*T.* iii. 10. 29; *M.* xiii. 895, v. 633). By a natural transition, applied to the deities of the waters and to their attributes (*M.* i. 275, 333, ii. 8, iii. 342, v. 432, xi. 398, xiii. 288, 742, 962, xiv. 45, 555; *H.* vii. 50, ix. 14; *F.* i. 136, 375, iii. 874; *P.* iv. 16. 22). Twice of ships (*M.* xiv. 555; *F.* ii. 112). Thrice of the steel-blue of snakes (*M.* iii. 38, cf. Siebelis-Polle *ad loc.*; *M.* xii. 13, iv. 578, in the last case, of spots contrasted with the *nigrum corpus*), so of the *sudor* of Hercules on Œta, due to the poison. Of the bluish gray of smoke (*F.* iv. 739), and of the deeper tones of distant foliage (Tmolo) *quercu coma caerula tantum* | *Cingitur* (*M.* xi. 158), cf. Haupt-Korn *ad loc.*, and J. C. Van Dyke, *Art for Art's Sake*, p. 132. Once the poet notes the dark bluish green of the olive leaf (*A. A.* ii. 518). Elsewhere he records his observation of the glancing of light on the under side of the leaves, so marked in the olives and willows. This is expressed now by *albens oliva* (*H.* xi. 67); now by *oliva canens* (*M.* vi. 81); so, too, *cana salicta* (M. v. 590). Cf. J. Gilbert, *Landscape in Art*, p. 20, and J. A. Symonds, *The Greek Poets*, vol. ii., p. 249, "Lower down, the olives spread a hoary grayness and soft robe of silver mist. The harmony between the beauty of the olive-boughs and the blue sea can be better felt than described. Guido,

whose subtlety of sentiment was very rare, has expressed it in one or two of his earliest and best pictures by graduated tones of silver, azure, and cool gray." Finally, *caeruleus* is applied to the dark bluish-purple berries of the laurestine (*M.* x. 98).

Lividus. — Grayish, dull blue. So of plums (darkened by contrast with complementary yellow), *Prunaque, non solum nigro liventia suco,* | *Verum etiam generosa novasque imitantia ceras* (*M.* xiii. 817–8). There is actually 70 % of black in plum purple. Similarly, of a spot on the body darkened by contrast with shining white, *niger livor* (*Am.* iii. 5. 26, 43). So most frequently of the human body (*Am.* i. 7. 41, 8. 98, ii. 2. 47; *M.* vi. 279, viii. 536, x. 258; *T.* ii. 455). Finally, of the teeth of Invidia (*M.* ii. 776).

Purpureus. — Cf. Schmidt, p. 226, "Πορφυροῦς ist wie *purpureus* nach Homer die Bezeichnung für alle rein roten Farben one einen Stich ins gelbe, mit Übergang bis zum violetten." So essentially Blümner, p. 198. A mixture, then, of red and blue in varying proportions, red usually, at times blue, predominating; the latter is in some uses of the term just traceable, as in *roseus.* At one extreme, then, we find it equipollent with *roseus,* as (possibly, cf. Blümner, p. 186, in *purpureus Amor* (*Am.* ii. 1. 38, 9. 34; *A. A.* i. 232); cf. his *purpureae alae* (*Rem.* 701). So, certainly, in *Purpureas tenero pollice tange genas* (*Am.* i. 4. 22; cf. the rouge, *purpurae virgae* of *A. A.* iii. 269), intensified in a blush (*Am.* i. 3. 14, ii. 5. 34; *T.* iv. 3. 70), deepened in lips, *purpureis labellis* (*Am.* iii. 14. 23). So of the rosy tints of dawn (*Am.* i. 13. 10; *M.* ii. 13, iii. 184, vi. 48; *T.* i. 2. 27; *H.* iv. 160; *F.* iii. 518), and once[1] of the evening purples (*F.* ii. 74). Again, of the varying (cf. *M.* vi. 61) crimson of Tyrian purple (of attire, *H.* v. 65, xiv. 51; *M.* ii. 23, iii. 556, vi. 61, vii. 103, viii. 33, xiv. 393; *T.* iv. 10. 29; *P.* ii. 8. 50, iii. 4. 24, 8. 7, iv. 2. 48, 4. 25; *F.* i. 81, iv. 339, v. 28; of coverlets, *Am.* i. 14. 20; *H.* v. 88, xii. 52; so, too, of the *notae* of *M.* vi. 577, and the *capistra* of *M.* x. 125). Similarly applied to blood (*M.* xii. 111; *T.* iv. 2. 6; *F.* vi. 566), and to the moon under the influence of "carmina," *Purpureus Lunae sanguine vultus erat* (*Am.* i. 8. 12, v. *ruber* and *sanguineus*). Then of must (*F.* iv. 780), contrasted with *lac niveum,* and of the deepening purple tints of grapes (*M.* iii. 485; *A. A.* ii. 316 (cf. the transference to the *vites, M.* viii. 676), *M.* iv. 398 and *M.* xiii. 814, in the last case in contrast with yellow, intensifying the com-

[1] Correct Blümner, p. 193, who says: "auf die Abendröthe geht nur die einzige Stelle Ov. *Fast.* ii. 74." *H.* xx. [xxi.] 86 is almost an exact reproduction of the line in the *Fasti.*

plementary blue). So, further, of the purple dye of the bilberry (*T.* i. 1. 5). Again, of the reds and purples of flowers in general (*F.* v. 363, *A. A.* iii. 687), and in particular of the *hyacinthus* of the ancients (*M.* xiii. 395, x. 213); cf. Haupt-Korn *ad loc.*, "Die bezeichnete Blume ist nicht die von uns Hyacinthe benannte Blume, sondern Lilienart, entweder *lilium Martagon L.* (türkischer Bund) oder *Iris germanica* (violettblaue Schwertlilie)." The word reaches the lower end of the spectrum most nearly in its application to *amethystos* (*A. A.* iii. 181). Somewhat indefinitely, it is used of the varying reddish tones of the woodpecker's plumage in the metamorphosis of Picus (*M.* xiv. 393), and of the wonderful hair of Nisus (*M.* viii. 80, 93; *A. A.* i. 331; *Rem.* 68), which in the *Ciris* 120 is termed *roseus.*

Tyrius. — Specifically of Tyrian purple, crimson. So *M.* v. 51, vi. 222; *A. A.* ii. 297; *Med.* 9. Once *Sidonis* is similarly used (*M.* x. 267), and once *Amyclaeus* (*Rem.* 707).

Murex. — The shells themselves are used as colour elements, certainly in *M.* viii. 564, possibly in *M.* i. 332. As dye-stuff in *A. A.* i. 251, iii. 170; *H.* xiii. 37; *Rem.* 708; *M.* vi. 9, xi. 166; *F.* ii. 107, 319.

Ostrum. — Used as dye-stuff (*H.* xii. 179; *T.* iv. 2. 27; *P.* iii. 4. 101), as standard of colour (*M.* viii. 8, x. 211).

Ianthinus. — Purple inclining toward violet. So of lilies (*A. A.* ii. 115); cf. *purpureus.*

The foregoing results may now be subjected to quantitative treatment in comparison with the diffusion of colour in the spectrum, the figures for which are compiled from Rood, p. 24. Stated numerically, Ovid's use of the colour-terms is as follows: —

Red Group (including purple because of its predominant red tone). — Ruber 81, sanguineus 3, roseus 7, puniceus 10, minium 2, flammeus 2, rutilus 10, purpureus 63, Tyrius 7, murex 10, ostrum 5, ianthinus 1, — total 201.

Yellow Group. — Flavus 51, fulvus 37, croceus 8, aureus 29, ravus 1, luteus 4, isolated terms, such as electrum, 7, — total 142.

Green Group. — Viridis 66, vitreus 1, smaragdus 2, thalassinus 1, ferrugo 5, — total 75.

Blue Group. — Caeruleus 50, lividus 12, — total 62. Grand total 480.

Making now a proportional increase of these numbers for purposes of comparison with the spectrum when divided into 1000 parts, we obtain the following results: —

	Red, including orange	Yellow	Green, including blue-green	Blue, including cyan-blue	Violet
Spectrum . . .	485	110	103	125	177
Ovid	419	296	156	129	0

Remembering now that "the warm colours are, in painter's language, the reds, red-yellows, and yellows that make the upper half of the spectrum" (Price, p. 18), we note that Ovid has 715 parts of warm colour, as opposed to 285 parts of cold colour. The ratio in the spectrum is 595 to 405. Again, remembering that "in respect of luminosity, the colours of the spectrum grade downward from yellow, the most luminous, through green and red and blue to violet, the least luminous of all" (Price, p. 18), we note that Ovid decidedly prefers the most luminous colours, markedly exceeding the spectrum proportion in yellow, and, to a less extent, in green.

These last results, though differing in detail, are yet essentially the same as those reached by Professor Price for Vergil. Both poets in their use of colour idealize the world about them. But, in Ovid, endowed with a far more sensuous nature than that of Vergil, the contrast between the real and its "counterfeit presentment" is more sharply defined, the colours are more vivid and glowing.

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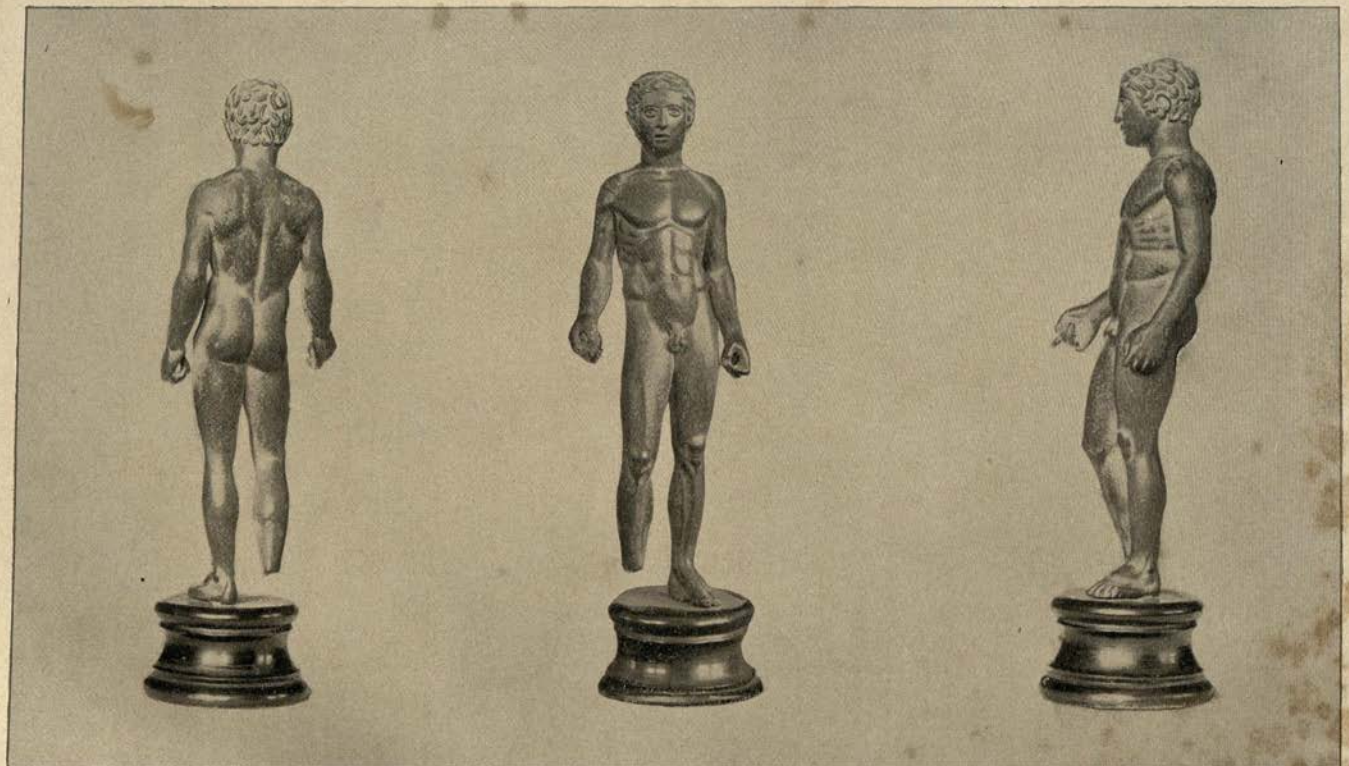

A BRONZE OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

A Bronze of Polyclitan Affinities in the Metropolitan Museum.[1]

POLYCLITUS, whether of Sicyonian or Argive descent, was a Dorian, and the Dorian differed from the Ionian, with his soberer Attic brother, as the straight line differs from the Hogarth curve of beauty. Something of the solid mathematical principle always dominated the Dorian character, mathematical regularity, symmetry, and proportion. Originally a hill-folk, the Dorians were distinguished for something of the strength and ruggedness of their rocky fastnesses. Their virtues were of the practical kind, and a clear understanding kept them from excess or frivolous novelties. They may be called the Holdfasts of the Hellenic peoples. Though not denied a perception of the ideal, they showed it commingled with a substratum of the hard and severe. In contradistinction to Phidias and Myron, we cannot but see that the characteristics of the art of Polyclitus were in a measure conditioned by the fact of his Dorian blood and training.

It was a Dorian trait which was embraced by the statement of Pliny (*N. H.*, xxxiv. 56), that Polyclitus made his statues *quadrata*, square-built. In this epithet lurks the notion of the mathematical, of the employment of planes and straight lines and angles in preponderance, as compared with the curves and ever-changing outline of Attic sculptures. In a figurative sense it also implies compactness, firmness, and strength of the body and limbs, so that the statue shall be fitted, as Quintilian says (*Inst. Orat.*, v. 12, 21), both for military service and for the palæstra, the two chief aims of Dorian existence. Again, it is Lucian who declares (*De Salt.* 75) that according to the canon of Polyclitus, the body should not be too tall, nor short and dwarflike, not too fleshy nor too spare, but in exact proportion, in the exact mean. A more precise description of

[1] My acknowledgments are due to the authorities of the Metropolitan Museum for assistance and facilities in preparing the illustrations for these papers. The photographs from the bronze were made by Mr. Charles Balliard.

it is given by Galen (*De Plac. Hipp. et Plat.* 5): Beauty consists in the symmetry of all the members, as of finger to finger and of the fingers to the hand and wrist, and of these to the lower arm, and of the lower arm to the upper arm, and so on, each member bearing a harmonious proportion to the other and to the body as a whole. Here is exhibited a methodical mind of Dorian pattern, which was prepared to reason out the principles of its art and discuss them. The canon of Polyclitus was not the earliest attempt in Greece to seek and apply a system of measurements in statuary, for we find it in the earlier Chian-Ionian school and elsewhere; but Polyclitus was the earliest, so far as we know, who made it a deliberate and prolonged study, and went so far as to write a treatise about it.

Another feature emphasizing the holdfastness of the race is found in the adherence of Polyclitus in a great measure to a single type. Varro asserted (Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv. 56) that his statues were almost after one pattern. He was not merely Dorian, but quite Hellenic, when he selected for his canon the type of glorious youth, never passing beyond smooth cheeks, as Quintilian puts it (*Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 7). Another feature which belongs to his oneness of type is the pose that he employed for almost all his statues. They rest their weight upon one leg, while the other is gently bent, with heel raised, and toe still touching the ground. This imparts a gracious ease to the body, relieving it of the stiffness of the archaic period, in which both feet were planted firmly upon the ground, the left in advance of the right; but the bend of the body does not yet reach the beautiful curve of the Praxitelean figure. Pliny imagined that Polyclitus invented this attitude, but in this case, as in many others mentioned by Pliny, invention is not the correct term. Such things come by gradual accretion rather than by sudden leaps. It may be granted that Polyclitus somewhat advanced and set the fashion for this pose; but the bronze statue of the Palazzo Sciarra (*Römisch. Mittheil.*, ii. Taf. iv., v.; Collignon, *Histoire de la sculpture Grecque*, i. p. 321), and the statuette from Ligurio (Furtwängler, 50*th Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, 1890, pp. 125–152; Collignon, *Hist.*, i. p. 322) not far from the Argive territory, exhibit a phase of it that must precede any production by Polyclitus.

Though the bronzes from the hand of Polyclitus have perished, our knowledge of his style and that of his school has become clearer from the identifications of copies in bronze and marble, as well as by the discoveries of the American School at Athens in its excava-

tions at the Argive Heræum. The object of this paper is to bring forward another claimant for admission to the circle of these influences. This is a bronze statuette found in Cyprus by General di Cesnola, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in New York. It has already been published from a three-quarter front view in General di Cesnola's *Cyprus*, p. 345, and a description of its discovery is there given, pp. 344–5, as follows:—

"In a ravine southeast of these ruins [of the temple of Apollo Hylates near Curium] I came upon a pit full of broken statues, and in its vicinity a little mound containing a great mass of hands, feet, and legs, belonging to the same; it is probable that these statues had come from the temple of Apollo. These fragments were all in calcareous stone, and bore evidence of having been purposely destroyed. Among them were two white marble statuettes about two feet high, and a small one of bronze seven and one-half inches high, probably representing Apollo, of fine Greek workmanship."

With the exception of the missing foot and ankle (see PLATE), the preservation of the statuette is remarkably good, much of the original surface being happily intact. It was cast solid, like most ancient bronze statuettes, so that its weight is considerable.[1]

In justification of our attribution of this statuette, we may first note the *quadrata* characteristics of all its forms, the squareness of the torso, the squareness of the shoulders, the squareness of the neck like a post, the squareness of the face as a whole, and of the nose and brow in particular, and the flatness of the top and sides of the head, of the cheeks and of the thighs at the sides which are also somewhat indented. The flatness of the top of the head distinguishes it at once from the full, fine curve of the Attic

[1] Measurements in millimetres:

Total height,	.155 m.
Head, from chin to roots of hair,	.022
" from root of nose to hair,	.0085
" length of nose,	.006
" from nose to lower line of chin,	.0075
" width at ears,	.022
" depth from brow to back,	.0255
" from tip of nose to back,	.027
Neck, front to back,	.014
" side to side,	.013
Shoulders, breadth,	.041
Hips, "	.03
Width of right ear,	.004
" of left ear,	.0053
Arm, total length from tip of middle finger,	.078m.
" from tip of middle finger to large knuckle,	.014
" from knuckle to tip of elbow,	.035
" from tip of elbow to point of shoulder,	.029
Width of hand at knuckles,	.0103
From heel to top of kneepan,	.047
From top of kneepan to navel,	.047
From navel to orifice of ear,	.047
Length of foot,	.0235
Width of foot,	.0105
Right heel from ground (estimated),	.004

head of the period, and brings it into close connection with the Doryphorus of Polyclitus. A horizontal section of the Doryphorus through the brow somewhat resembles an egg, with broader part behind. This is not so prominent in our statuette, but the depth from front to back of the head is very notable.

The eyes are not so deep nor so organically constructed as those of the Doryphorus; nor is the fleshy part above them noticeably modelled.[1] The upper lid, however, passes beyond the lower one at the outer corner, more perceptibly in the left than the right eye. In the strong, pyramidal nose projecting beyond the line of brow, the firm mouth and chin, the wide cheeks, the ear well back and low, and the turn of the head, we also see the characteristics of the Doryphorus. The brow is rather higher, especially at the parting, where it extends to an unusual height, but resembles it in its projection above the eyes and in the customary horizontal furrow along the middle of the forehead. Again, the peculiar arrangement of the hair keeps us within the mannerisms of the same school. This is not so noticeable in the marble copy of the Doryphorus in the Naples Museum, although the hair in that copy is close to the head and exhibits that peculiar parting in the middle of the brow, with the short locks thrown to either side and curled at the end toward each other, so often remarked in Polyclitan heads. The characteristics of our statuette in this particular are best represented by the bronze bust of the Doryphorus from Herculaneum, a copy of the Roman period, as shown by its inscription; and by the bronze statuette in Athens, assigned to this school and published in *Monumenti d. Inst.*, viii. Taf. liii., and Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, No. 280 a. In both these the hair is divided into short locks lying flat and close to the head, and shaped like the end of a blade of corn with the points somewhat curved into a curl. The origin of this arrangement is to be traced, no doubt, to the style of round curl exhibited by the head of the Naples Tyrannicide, and an intermediate stage may be seen in the Dresden athlete head from Perinthus, where, as in the Tyrannicide, the division of the lock into three filaments also obtains (*Athen. Mitth.*, 1891, Taf. v.). The former of these in particular exhibits by the disposition of the curls in rows about the head a regularity which is extreme. It is not so extreme in our statuette, but it is worthy of remark. Five locks in front run from the parting

[1] The pupil and the outline of the iris are very slightly indicated; *cf.* the Hermitage medallion of the Parthenos head, *Athen. Mitth.*, viii. Taf. 15; and coins from the fifth century downward.

to and in front of the ears on each side, corresponding each to other, though not quite rigidly in position, and curling toward each other. Four more on each side behind the ears extend till they meet at the back, also curling toward each other. The next row runs from the parting round to the back above the other, seven on one side and five on the other. These are succeeded by another row of five and four respectively, and a final one of three opposite three along the parting. The disposition throughout is very regular except at the crown, where it is broken and disturbed. The Athens statuette does not exhibit so much precision as this, but it is marked in this particular, and forms an intermediate stage to the Herculaneum bust. Another extreme, overstepping the limits of the others, may be observed in the extent to which the central locks at the parting are carried toward each other on the brow, recalling the single locks on the brow of the bronze Aphrodite head of the British Museum (Murray, *Hist. Greek Sculpture*, Vol. ii. Pl. xxiv.), etc. This, however, is a matter of conviction with our artist, for he has throughout made the hair of the locks longer than is done in the examples cited, and this naturally leads to more of a curl at the end of each. Compare the curls of Herse in the Boreas vase painting, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Fig. 373.

The face is not beautiful; it is rather hard and heavy, and in this particular bears a strong resemblance to the statuette from Ligurio cited above, as well as to the Athens statuette; but the torso is one in which elaborate finish and exquisite truth to nature struggle for supremacy. The Polyclitan excellence in the *pectus*, praised by the *Auctor ad Herennium* (iv. 6, 9), is here extended to the whole torso, front and back, and we see a similar excellence in the beautiful torso from the metopes of the Argive Heræum recently discovered by the American School. For such technical perfection, such elaboration in workmanship, antiquity was unanimous in praising Polyclitus, and the metopal torso renders it probable that it was characteristic of the school. The modelling of the chest, ribs, and stomach of our statue notably resembles that of the metope, though the marble is naturally softer and some of the details are less clear and distinct. They differ also as rest or entrance into rest differs from intense action. The freshness, rhythm, and strength of the muscles of the back are extremely pleasing in the entire contour. The furrow up the back is deep and clearly defined and the inguinal folds strong. The large veins of arms, hands, and legs are carefully indicated, and the nails of fingers and toes are wrought with detail

and finish, as the finger-nails of the metope. It was to this finish of the finger-nails that the sculptor von der Launitz believed the saying of Polyclitus to refer, as quoted by Plutarch (*De Prof. in Virt.* 17, *Quæst. Conviv.*, ii. 3. 2), to the effect that the task of the sculptor is most difficult when the clay comes to the nail. The finest work, the German sculptor maintained (*Arch. Zeit.*, xxii. 276*), cannot be done by the nail, as this passage is usually explained. The interpretation of the dictum is still disputed, but it is generally conceded that it indicates elaborate finish, in any case.

The hands are large, and their measurement does not give that exact module which Guillaume finds (Collignon, *Hist. Sculp.*, i. p. 493, note 2) in the Doryphorus; but that the three measurements of lower leg, of knee to navel, and of navel to orifice of ear correspond, as in the Doryphorus, is shown by the table above.

Passing to the general pose of the figure, we find the Polyclitan attitude as already described, but the weight rests not upon the right foot, as in the Doryphorus and all other certainly known[1] and existing Polyclitan statues, but upon the left. This, however, should not exclude it from the circle. It would be hazardous indeed to suppose that an artist would confine himself so rigidly to a single pose as not to change it even to the other foot, which merely varies the rhythm without altering the general scheme. This would be giving no play for Pliny's *paene*, in his *paene ad unum exemplum*. On the contrary, we possess interesting evidence that puts the question beyond cavil. Among the bases found at Olympia during the German excavations was one bearing the following inscription (Purgold, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1882, p. 189; Loewy, *Inschriften Gr. Bildhauer*, No. 50):—

πύκτας τόνδ' ἀνέθηκεν ἀπ' εὐδόξοιο Κυνίσκος
Μαντινέας νικῶν πατρὸς ἔχων ὄνομα.

The inscription runs around the upper surface of the stone, and embraces a square within which the feet of the statue rested. The holes for fastening the statue to the base still remain and reveal its attitude plainly. Two of these form a pair, and show that the left foot was fixed firmly through the heel and through the ball of the foot flatly to the surface of the stone, in the same position as the left foot of our statuette. A third hole to the right and back of this pair proves that the right foot touched the surface at one point

[1] See, however, Collignon, *loc. cit.*, p. 499; *Jahrb. d. Inst.* iii., 1888, Taf. 1.

only, and was drawn back from the other foot. A glance at the feet of the Doryphorus is sufficient to produce the conviction that the general scheme is the same. The right foot of the Olympian statue was riveted through the ball near the great toe, as our statuette would have been. The inscription notes that the statue represented a victorious boxer named Cyniscus from Mantinea. When Pausanias is describing the statues of athletes at Olympia (vi. 4, 11), he mentions one of a boy boxer of Mantinea named Cyniscus, and the artist was Polyclitus (Κυνίσκῳ δὲ τῷ ἐκ Μαντινείας πύκτῃ παιδὶ ἐποίησε Πολύκλειτος τὴν εἰκόνα). There can be no doubt that it rested upon the base found by the Germans, while beneath it was another stone now lost from which Pausanias obtained his information as to the artist, and which bore the name of Polyclitus as maker of the statue. The forms of the letters of the inscription have led Purgold to assign it to a period not much later than the middle of the fifth century. Accordingly it would belong among the earlier works of Polyclitus. To determine the size of the statue no evidence remains from the outline of the left foot, because the surface of the stone is somewhat weathered; but the distance between the two supports of the foot shows that it must have been of life size for a youth. If the statue held any attributes in its hands, they were not such as to rest upon the base.

As Purgold suggests, Cyniscus may have been represented in the technical attitude of a boxer, as the boy boxer Philippus, of the third century B.C., whose inscription was discovered at Olympia (Loewy, *Inschr. Bildh.*, No. 126). We may add the earlier example of Glaucus of Carystus in the first half of the fifth century (Paus. vi. 10, 3).

Returning to our statuette, we may observe that its general pose is that of Cyniscus, while the age is that of the immature youth such as would accord with the term παῖς employed by Pausanias; and all in all we may say that it most likely represents a youthful athlete. The circumstances of its find, it is true, naturally suggest an Apollo, but the face is utterly without ideality, and it satisfies best the requirements of a portrait statue. The question will readily arise, can it be a copy from the statue of Cyniscus? The elaborate arrangement of the hair and the structure of the eyes would naturally lead us back to the early work of Polyclitus, if assignable to him at all, and we have seen that the Cyniscus was such an early work, when the stiffness and elaboration of the hair were still adhered to, as we are told was the case with Myron, and

as the Naples bust seems to prove in a less degree later for Polyclitus; for we can hardly suppose that as good a copyist as this artist of the Augustan Era has shown himself to be would have been altogether false to his original in this archaistic way. That a somewhat archaic treatment of the hair might be combined with a high excellence in the composition of the torso may again be supported by appeal to the practice of Myron.[1] Some of the over-refinement in the hair may be attributed to the copyist; but the sincerity and directness of the whole work militate against this copyist being late. How such a statuette should have found its way to Cyprus it is useless to speculate; yet we cannot fail to recall the Arcadian connections of Cyprus as a whole, and the Argive affinities of Curium in particular.

Still there are various considerations which run counter to an identification of the original of this statuette with the boxer Cyniscus. Pancratiasts' ears were habitually represented in art with their rims battered and their whole extent thick and swollen by their punishment in the palæstra. It seems injudicious to exclude from this treatment an exercise so similar as that of boxing. Theocritus could hardly have been deceived when he spoke of Amycus as σκληραῖσι τεθλασμένος οὔατα πυγμαῖς (xxii. 45). The ears of our statuette are quite free from such defacement. The attitude of the hands is not that of the boxing scheme, but this is a matter of artistic choice and is not essential. Each hand evidently held something, the left containing the larger object. The attributes of athletes were various and unconventional. In one case, where a pine cone and a pomegranate were employed, even Pausanias acknowledged himself at fault to explain the reasons (vi. 9. 1). For our statuette we may guess, without attempting to do more, that a branch or fillet was held in the right, and a crown in the left.

The lack of beauty in the face, especially the side face, must also be weighed. Polyclitus was never famed for his faces, but we should expect greater harmony between the head and the body than exists here, and as is usually seen in the copies of his works now known. Whether this would have been the case in an early work we cannot affirm, except on general principles. Yet the head of our bronze as a whole presents too many divergences from the received type to be assignable here.

[1] See, also, Helbig, *Untersuchungen Camp. Wandmalerei*, p. 15 *seq.*

Without attempting, then, to attribute this statuette to Polyclitus immediately, I would assign it closely, in its primary form, to the influences which were prevailing about him at a period not far from the middle of the fifth century, and certainly, like the Athens statuette, to the Peloponnesian school, of which it gives us a very typical specimen. In this connection it may not be amiss to notice the great width and the roundness of the upper part of the left ear (less conspicuous in the right, which was not expected to be seen so much), a peculiarity which it shares with several of the statues of the Olympian pediments and their congeners, and it occurs elsewhere about this time. Another similarity may be seen in the rather long locks curled at the end, on some of the Olympian heads, and also on a fragment of a head discovered in the spring of 1893, during the excavations of the American School at the Argive Heræum, and not yet published.

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COLUMBIA COLLEGE, Nov. 1893.

Geryon in Cyprus.

THE archaic representations of the Geryon myth, in the Cypriote collection of the Metropolitan Museum of New York, have come to play so important a part in the early history of art, and so many varying statements and misstatements touching them are to be found among those who have treated of them, that it has seemed to me desirable to discuss them *de novo*, and to establish the facts relating to them upon a scientific basis. The objects, to which I refer, are the fragments of one large statue of Geryon and two small ones, together with a bas-relief representing the attack of Hercules upon Geryon's herd and its keepers.

The story of Geryon appears first in the *Theogony* of Hesiod (287–294) in all its essential features, — genealogy, form, home, death, his herdsman, and dog, — and these features are maintained throughout with great persistency. He is the son of the Ocean nymph Callirrhoe and Chrysaor, and thus the grandson of Medusa and Posidon. He is triple-headed, implying three heads upon one body, as will be seen later. He was slain by mighty Hercules near his trailing-hoofed kine in the island Erythea, on the day when the hero started to drive away his broad-browed cattle to sacred Tiryns, after he had crossed the stream of Oceanus and had slain the dog Orthrus and the herdsman Eurytion at their dusky steading beyond Oceanus. Pisander of Rhodes in the seventh century B.C. introduced the episode into his *Heraclea*, but how he treated it we do not know. Stesichorus (640–555 B.C.) made it the subject of one of his heroic lyrics entitled *Geryonis*, in which he describes the monster as winged, and possessed of six hands and six feet (Schol. *ad Hes. Theog.*, 287). It may be inferred from the six feet, that he was imagined to be a composite form with three organically connected bodies, as he was carved upon the Chest of Cypselus about the same time (Paus. v. 19. 1), and as he was commonly conceived by the poets henceforth. In the fifth century the extensive epic of

Panyasis on the labours of Hercules was written, but all our information touching it upon this point consists in the poor fact that the poet called the herdsman by some other name than Eurytion (Phalacrus?). The most detailed account we possess is from Apollodorus (*Biblioth.* ii. 5, 10), which is so far supported by earlier literature and art that it may be supposed to rest substantially upon the early epics. Here the island Erythea is at Cadiz, the oxen are dark red, and Orthrus is two-headed. Hercules comes to drive away the herd to Tiryns, in the accomplishment of his tenth labour. Landing on the island, he bivouacs upon the mountain Abas, but is espied by Orthrus. As the dog rushes upon him, the hero strikes him down with a club, and then slays Eurytion coming up to his assistance. Hercules starts to drive away the cattle, when he is attacked by Geryon, whom he at last kills with his arrows after a hard contest.

We have seen that there existed two different versions in literature as to the bodily form of Geryon. In Hesiod he has three heads upon a single body, in Stesichorus, as on the Chest of Cypselus, he has three bodies organically connected, with six arms and six legs. The three bodies imply three heads also. In art a similar difference exists. On theoretical grounds it might be said that sculpture would abhor and avoid such a form; at all events, would leave it to relief like that of the Cypselus Chest, the metopes of Olympia and of the "Theseum," and to coins; and that the three statues in the round from Cyprus could be the product only of a rude, insular, and orientalized taste. But since the discovery of the *poros* pediments of the Acropolis at Athens, some of which are practically in the round, it must be acknowledged that such attempts were natural to the time, although a more refined taste did banish them. In fact, it was under the facile manipulation of the brush in vase paintings that the Geryon myth found its freest scope in art. Klein (*Euphronios*[2], pp. 58–61) has enumerated the instances known. These vases comprise two Chalcidian, two Rhodian, and thirty Attic of the black-figure type, and four severe red-figure Attic. All these represent the conflict between Hercules and Geryon. Two of the black-figure and two of the red-figure style omit the conflict, and only show Hercules driving away the cattle.

Among those representing the combat two classes are distinguishable, each belonging to different centres of art. The Chalcidian vases depict Geryon with three heads and six arms, but with a single body

and two legs only, just as the Bœotian Hesiod describes him.[1] The proximity of Chalcis to Bœotia renders this natural. Another peculiarity confined to Chalcidian vases (Aristoph. *Acharn.* 1082 is disputed) consists in the wings which are added to Geryon, and they are recurved at the end. A predilection for wings, especially recurved wings, is noticeable in Ionian art, in particular for mythical figures. The Chalcidians were Ionian in race and language, and were closely allied with the Ionians of the Asiatic coast, and thus in contact with the influences which directed their advances in culture. It was through Lydia that the Eubœans obtained their system of light weights so different from the heavy Æginetan system coming from Phœnicia (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. xl.), and wherever they carried their colonies and their trade, whether to Thrace or Italy, during their days of greatest vigour and enterprise in the eighth and seventh centuries, they spread the characteristics of Ionian art. Himera, the native city of Stesichorus, was colonized both by Chalcidian Ionians and by Dorians from the Peloponnesus. From the Chalcidian side we may suppose that Stesichorus took the wings with which he endowed his description of Geryon; for the triple body we must look elsewhere, within the circle of influences which dominated the second class of vase paintings mentioned above. The Chest of Cypselus gives us the clue. Even if this work was not distinctively Corinthian, as Klein has maintained (*Euphron.*, p. 62), it certainly belonged to the southern tendencies from which Athens was at this time learning with unflagging diligence. In all the Attic vases Geryon is triple-bodied and triple-headed, and has six legs and six arms, but no wings. The two Rhodian vases mentioned above are either Attic, or are practically so in this particular. These two classes, then, give us a criterion for determining the origin of a representation found elsewhere.

We may now turn to the largest statue of Geryon from Cyprus.[2]

[1] Compare the bronze statuette of the Musée de Lyon, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1880, Pl. 22.

[2] Measurements according to the metrical scale: —

Height on left,	.49
" on right,	.46
" of base,	.04
Across shoulders of body on left,	.11
" " " " in middle,	.125
" " " " on right,	.115
Total width of three shields,	.41
Diameter of shield,	.165
Girth of body around hips,	.64
Length of foot,	.10
Width of foot across toes,	.045
Height of Perseus on shield,	.102
" " lion-slayer on left,	.085
Width across his head by nose,	.025
" across his shoulders,	.03
" of body at his belt,	.015
Length of his foot,	.01
Stretch of his feet from toe to heel,	.05
Height of lion-slayer on right,	.09

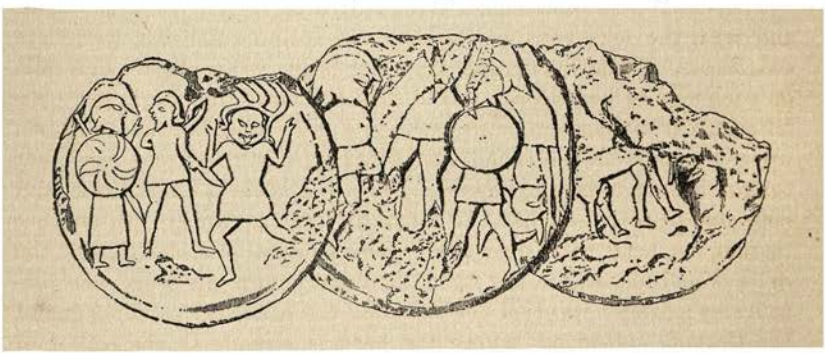
It has been often published[1] and does not need illustration, with the exception of the shields, which have never been adequately given. These have been drawn to the original size from careful measurements and then reduced for our cut. On the whole, it represents very fairly all that can be made out. The heads of the figures forming the statue are gone (but see below, p. 213), with the necks and part of the shoulders. The right arm is raised and broken off at the wrist. The monster was represented according to the Attic type, with three heads, three bodies, six arms, and six legs, and wingless. The heads should have been helmeted, and the right arms should have brandished spears, while the left protect the body by the small round shields. A close tunic reaches to the knees, but there are no indications of greaves, which are commonly shown on vase paintings. The feet are treated curiously. It is a law in archaic sculpture that the left foot shall be advanced. This law is followed in the foot to our right, but the other two have their toes turned in the opposite direction as if for right feet. Notwithstanding this, the legs behind are set so far to our left of those in front that they appear in the position of right legs. The three legs in front are shaped in Cypriote manner into a semblance of the human limb, but of modelling one cannot speak; those behind are still worse. The three separate bodies are outlined behind sufficiently to show distinctly that the triple form was intended, and at the waist a thick belt 1½ inches wide, painted red, follows the undulations thus formed from one side to the other. The stone is the native *poros*, easily cut by hand instruments, and underneath the body their traces are left without smoothing, and reveal an interesting fact. Flat chisels of different widths were employed. Two of them have left grooves so deep in the soft material that their widths can be measured accurately. One was three-eighths and the other five-eighths of an inch wide.

The shields are small and round (see cut), like those of the vase paintings, and, like them further they have their blazons, though these are more elaborate, to the degree that the artist had a larger space to fill. The vase painter is content with a bird, or ox head, or Gorgon's head; here we have whole scenes: Perseus decapitating Medusa, with Athena standing by; Ajax carrying off the dead body of Achilles from the battle-field, with a warrior as spectator; a centaur and ——. Such elaborate decorations of shields is familiar in literature from the Shield of Achilles, the Hesiodic Shield, the *Septem* of

[1] Doell's *Katalog.*, 1873, 4; Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 156; Cesnola, *Atlas*, i. Pl. 83, No. 544; Perrot, *Hist. de l'art*, iii. p. 575; Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, i. p. 1633, etc.

Æschylus, etc. The artist has employed both relief and paint, the latter applied especially to the relief, not to the whole surface, at least of the shield on the left. It is of the ordinary red, and often where it is apparently gone it will reappear upon the application of a wet sponge. It is not applied with any greater artistic skill than the relief is carved, and the execution of this is clumsy and puerile.

The shield on the left, which is most complete, shows us Athena armed with helmet, lance, and round buckler. The helmet is of the style seen upon the Ajax of the François vase, upon one of the heads of Geryon on the Exekias-Geryon vase, and in general it is a common type in the sixth century. The crest is a high ridge, extending before and behind, and the cheek-pieces, being lowered, come to a point in front below the chin, making it look at first sight as if the



goddess had a beard. In the present condition of the stone it is not easy to make out all the details, and about some minor points there is opportunity for difference of opinion. The helmet behind seems to end in a flap or piece to protect the neck, as often. The lowered spear and the buckler are held in the right hand, the buckler being ornamented with a "Catherine's wheel" indicated in red. The neck of the figure also shows traces of red. The goddess's left hand is raised in exhortation to Perseus. A short, plain tunic reaches below her knees. Perseus stands looking in the conventional manner away from the Gorgon to Athena. He has no helmet, but thick hair falls to his shoulders, and he is bearded. A close-fitting tunic descends below his hips, belted in at the waist by a girdle indicated in red, not sculptured. Red also appears on the lips, arms, legs to the knees, apparently stopping there, but distinct upon one foot, the other being destroyed. Archaic art habitually presents the front of the body to the spectator, but here the arms seem to be managed as

if it were the back that is visible. The sword is naturally in the right hand, and the left reaches forward beyond the body and grasps a neck of one of the snakes of the Gorgon's head. Since the arm is thus hidden by the body, it is naïvely prolonged to make up for it. Of the two lion-slayers carved upon the tunic of our statue below the shields, the one facing the left has the sword-arm behind the body, and that is similarly prolonged; the other, facing the right, has the left arm covered, and this is lengthened extravagantly in order to grasp the paw of the lion. In these cases also it would be simplest to regard the person's back as turned to the spectator. The arms of Egyptian statues are sometimes lengthened in this way (Perrot, *Hist. de l'art*, i. Fig. 165), and the horns of the charging bull in the Baphio cup (*Ephemeris Archaiologiké*, 1889–90 Pl. ix.), etc.

The Gorgon is represented with full face to the front, as usual, and with the legs bent in the common running scheme, to denote swiftness. Three snakes rise from her head, and a shorter one falls on each side of her cheeks. Her ears are large and high, her eyes tilted up at the corners, her cheeks full and round, her mouth drawn up in unison with the round visage and filled with vicious teeth, her tongue lolling in bestial manner. She is clad in a short tunic, and both arms are raised as if in terror at Perseus' touch. In another instant her head will be severed. The act just precedes that of the Selinus metope, where the sword is already doing its work, and precedes by a longer interval the scene on the beautiful sarcophagus of the Cesnola collection, where the head is already in the wallet of Perseus, and Pegasus and Chrysaor are springing from the severed neck. There Medusa has four wings; here she has none. This is rare but not unprecedented, as the Selinus metope bears witness, and the description of the Hesiodic Shield (Furtwängler, Roscher's *Lex. Myth.*, i. p. 1709). Wings, as has been said before, belong especially to the Ionian-Chalcidian preferences, though occurring in Attic. The absence of wings, then, only raises a presumption in favour of an Attic origin; but another feature is a distinct proof. The Gorgon in Ionian-Chalcidian work throughout is clad in a long garment, and the hindrance which this would naturally present to the idea of swift flight is removed by the wings, frequently four, of which two are recurved. On the other hand, in Attic, Peloponnesian, and Sicilian art the short garment is typical, in Attic throughout the black-figure period, but Ionic influences appear in a red-figure vase, as might be expected (Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1710–1711). Ordinarily one arm is raised, and the other sunk in the running scheme.

It is rare that both are raised or both lowered. In our case there may be a special reason for both being raised.

The subject of the central shield has never been recognized in any publication, so far as I know. The relief is somewhat mutilated, and a few points are not clear; but the general design is unmistakable. It represents the rescue of the dead body of Achilles from the Trojans. This finds brief mention in the Odyssey (v. 309, xxiv. 37–43), but the rescue is not attributed to Ajax. The account of the struggle over the corpse and its conveyance to camp by the Telamonian Ajax was given in detail by Arctinus (eighth century) in his *Æthiopis*. An abstract is found in Proclus (Kinkel, *Epici Græci*, p. 34): "After a heavy battle had been fought over the body, Ajax took it up and bore it away to the ships, while Odysseus kept back the Trojans." It is to Dictys Cretensis (iv. 11) that we owe in literature the detail that Ajax bore it away on his shoulder; but this must have been the original conception, not that of the Pasquino group, as proved by a number of Attic vase paintings, of which the François vase, to be assigned to the first half of the sixth century, is the earliest. Here the scene is repeated on each handle with slight variations. On one Ajax carries a spear in his right and holds the body of Achilles over his back with the left; on the other he has no weapon, and employs both arms in holding the body on his shoulder. In both he is in complete armour, helmet, corslet and greaves, without chiton. His helmet is of the same pattern as on our shield. He is hastening on a run. Achilles has been stripped of all armour and clothing. The effect of "long-stretching death" is produced by making his feet drag on the ground behind, and his hands reach the feet of Ajax in front, while his long hair pours toward the earth. Ajax is bearded, Achilles beardless. They are designated by their names inscribed on the background. On our shield Ajax faces in the opposite direction, toward the left, and wears helmet, tunic, and buckler. The face is badly mutilated, but the helm is the same as that of Athena and Achilles and the third figure in front. Ajax walks; he does not run. Achilles wears a helmet and tunic. The artist of the François vase represented the corpse as lying naturally upon its stomach, on the shoulder of Ajax; ours has preferred a *tour de force*, making difficulties in his ignorance, compelling the corpse to lie upon its back and bend pliantly, willy nilly.[1] It still faces the foe, it is true,

[1] This feature may come from the scheme of the corpse-bearer on the Cypriote silver-gilt bowls, where the body also rests upon its back (Perrot,

but it is left exposed to every weapon. The effect produced in the François vase by the downfalling hair is here given by the plume of the helm, showing that the projection in front and rear is horsehair. The arms are quite inorganic, but the death effect is well rendered. Where the body is concealed by the head of Ajax, it is supposed not to exist, as in the case of the arm of Perseus; but it cannot be denied that the picture of "long-stretching death" is enhanced by this unconscious device. The figure in front, apparently holding a spear, one need not try to name. He belongs to the frequent class in vase paintings, male or female, introducing a spectator into the scene [1] and filling the space.

The last shield on the right is so badly injured, that it is impossible to determine the scene. A centaur with human forelegs, whose human body has disappeared, is all that can be established. In front of the advanced foreleg is an object which may be the end of a branch carried in the hand of the centaur, as frequently, and some slight remains of carving at the margin of the shield on the right, show that something filled the field here. Centaurs with human forelegs occur on Attic vases of the sixth century, as elsewhere.

The figures carved upon the chiton of the statue, below the shields, present a twofold repetition of the common oriental scheme of the lion-slayer, approaching the type of the Greek Hercules, but not fully identical with it (cf. Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, pp. 2144–2146). The man facing the left seizes the lion by the throat with one hand and holds the raised sword in the other. He is clad in a short tunic or corslet like the figures on the shields, and his belt is in relief. His hair is thick and long, falling quite to the shoulders, and his nose is of the large and prominent Cypriote type. His lips also protrude, even more than those of the Perseus. The corresponding figure stands back to back with him, and differs from him but slightly. The face is mutilated, and red appears on his arms and on his legs as far as his knees. In build, the figures are short and stocky, and may be pronounced distinctively Cypriote. Both lions have wide-open mouths, and show, as usual, a rather better knowledge of form and workmanship than the human beings.

In attempting to define the period to which this statue is to be

loc. cit., iii. Figs. 36, 546, 552); but the position there is more natural, since the body is held under the arms, and the neck rests upon the shoulder of the bearer. The difficulty enters when the attempt is made to unite the Cypriote scheme with the Greek.

[1] Also a Homeric trait. See Merriam, *Phœacians*, p. 76, on line 106.

assigned, it is clear from the foregoing that its triple form is the one most familiar in Attic vase paintings, and that the designs on the shields are equally familiar in the same field, the Ajax-Achilles scene being chiefly confined in early art to these. The short garment of Medusa points to Attic origin, and the beard of Perseus does likewise, since he is beardless in Chalcidian examples, but bearded on a Corinthian vase, and both bearded and beardless in Attic art (Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.*, xxxviii. p. 29 *sq.*). All indications point to the period of black-figure vases, especially the "Catherine wheel" on the shield of Athena, and the centaur's human forelegs. Furthermore, Perseus in elder art has only the sword as weapon; in red-figure vases he is armed with the sickle, and in Alexandrian times with the harpe proper; that is, the sword with a projecting point at the side near the end (Loeschcke, *loc. cit.*). Other indications tend to limit the date to the later years of the period, in particular the tilted almond eye; it is not the round eye of the earlier stage. Hence the statue belongs, in my opinion, in the latter half of the sixth century and probably toward the end of it. I quite agree with those who think that the conception of the Geryon myth is purely Greek, and it seems to me established so far as our evidence goes, that it became familiar in art to the Cypriotes through the Athenian channel, from vase paintings, and possibly from terra-cottas, the two means by which Cyprus most frequently kept pace with the progress of Greek art, as did Etruria and Sicily.[1]

If this be so, the results of more recent excavations add further testimony to our determination of the date for our statue. At Marion and Salamis in Cyprus, Attic black-figure vases have been found belonging to the latter half of the sixth century, and not much later than the Ionian Revolt in which Cyprus took part. On the other hand she was practically cut off from Greece after the Persian wars for the greater part of the fifth century. Red-figure vases have been discovered in Cyprus, but they are rare before the fourth century.

Objections to the date assigned, on the ground of clumsy and inartistic execution of the work, can have no weight here; it has too many parallels in Cypriote art, where laxness and lack of finish are the rule rather than the exception. Our artist is to be judged chiefly by his reliefs, and relief work in stone was very rare in early

[1] We may compare in particular the terracotta heads of thoroughly Athenian type, reproducing the marble archaic females of the Athenian Acropolis, found in Sicily (Kekule, *Die Terrakotten von Sicilien*, ii. Pl. i., v.).

Cypriote art. He betrays his Cypriote blood, even while essaying Greek subjects and style, as usual.

With this statue were found two heads (*Atlas*, i. Nos. 391, 392), each of which had the face split away just in front of the ears. The split probably represents an old seam in the stone (observable in other objects of the collection) extending down into the body, the shoulders of which are split off at the back in the same way to right and left. The size of the heads is such as to render it possible that they belonged to the statue, and the conformation of the ears adds to the possibility. Only one of the four ears is wrought out in full, the others being roughly indicated. This is the usual method when heads stand rather closely together or have the ear hidden. We should thus be led, in restoring the heads to their places, to put the best ear outside, to our right, and the other head next in order, the third being lost. These facts, added to that of the similarity of the cleavage in the heads and the shoulders, give great weight to the supposition that we have here the original heads. The helmet fits close to the head, but, instead of a crest like those represented on the shields, it has in each case a round knob, the point of which leans forward, instead of backward as on the common Cypriote helm. Another distinction from the ordinary Cypriote helmet is the rounded fillet which encircles the back, running forward toward the temples. Below this is a narrow projecting flap resting on the short hair. Apparently a similar knob is to be seen on the helmets of the bronze three-headed Geryon mentioned above (note 1, page 206) judging from the plate, as well as upon the warrior's helmet from Selinus, Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, No. 292.

The two small groups of Geryon (Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 156; *Atlas*, i. Nos. 389, 390) deserve a few words.

The larger one[1] has the middle head still in a fair state of preservation; the right arms are preserved in part, and the left, holding the shields, are blocked out. The two outside bucklers are damaged

[1] Measurements: —

Greatest height,	.12	Length of beard,	.009
Height to break of neck,	.08	From beard to nose,	.0055
Total width across shoulders,	.172	Length of nose,	.0095
Width of shoulders on right,	.0635	Nose to helm,	.004
" " " in middle,	.06	Height of crest,	.007
Total width of shields,	.154	Length of eye,	.007
Diameter of middle shield,	.065	Width of eye,	.003
Height of head,	.046	" " neck,	.0185
Width of head,	.024	" " belt,	.008

at the outer edges, and the legs of the figure are gone, though a portion of the body below the shields remains, enough to show that the left foot was advanced in all three cases. The body on our left is turned somewhat toward its right, as if the figure was intended to be seen as a whole from our left, as in the case of the largest statue; and as there the shield on the left overlaps the adjacent one, though the last on the right overlaps the middle one, instead of being covered by it as before. The right arms were raised, and probably brandished spears. The backs of the figures show a greater attempt to separate them into distinct bodies, and the hips are more prominent behind. As before, a belt follows the flow of the backs from shield to shield. The shoulders are pretty well preserved, and the necks on either side are broken off near their middle. The head is protected by a close-fitting helmet with a short, comblike crest, and without the thick fillet round the back. Heavy hair, bunched like the Assyrian, but smooth, rests on the shoulders, and the beard is cut square as in the Assyrianized Cypriote heads, where straight striæ take the place of the Assyrian curls in the ornamentation of the beard. The mouth and eyes are horizontal, and the nose is not aquiline, but rather Greek. The right eye tends to the triangular shape. In the left eye this is less marked. The upper lip is shaved, and the beard forms a definite ridge along its edge against the cheek. To judge from the head, this group is probably older than the largest statue.

The shields were roughly decorated with geometric figures; at least, the one on the left bears the semblance of a wheel, the others being indistinct. Below the shields, on the front of the body hollowed out toward the legs, are also some figures very roughly scratched. On the left is an animal with horns and a hump on its back, no doubt intended as a zebu, probably with reference to the cattle of Geryon, as we shall see below. Next there seems to be a lion with tail curved into a spiral. The third figure is a quadruped, but too sketchy and indistinct to be made out.

The smallest of the three statues[1] exhibits hasty execution. The back is quite flat, except the heads and arms, of which the right are raised as before, and the left hold the shields. Enough remains of the legs to show that the left were advanced. The faces are much

[1] Measurements:

Width of shoulders,	.075	Diameter of shield,	.02
" " entire body,	.062	Height of head,	.022
" " shields,	.07	Width of head,	.013
		Height of face,	.012

worn and the beards indistinct, too much so to give criteria for determining the period, though they are certainly archaic. The eyes are horizontal and large. The head at the left has the chin thrown up and is turned somewhat sideways. The helmet resembles that of the preceding figure. The head on the right has been shaved down till all semblance of humanity is gone. The shields are so far from overlapping that they do not touch. They were ornamented with rude designs. On the left is a human figure in the attitude of Eurytion threatening with a stone, as on the relief to be described. On the middle shield is a dog seated on its haunches. It is impossible to determine what was on the third.

The last monument in this series is a bas-relief which adorned one side, presumably the front, of the base of the colossal statue of Hercules in the Museum. The other sides of the stone were not sculptured. It has been published many times (Doell's *Katalog*, Taf. 11, 8; Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 136, *Atlas*, No. 912; Ceccaldi, *Monuments de Cypre*, pp. 55–56; Perrot, *Hist.*, iii. p. 574; Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, i. p. 1635; Brunn-Bruckmann, Taf. 207; Brunn, *Griechische Kunstgeschichte*, i. p. 114), best in the Brunn-Bruckmann photographic reproduction. It represents the first scene of the Geryon episode, when Hercules is slaying the dog Orthrus with his arrows, and is threatened by Eurytion with a stone and with a tree caught up as a weapon. His cattle are startled, and some are running. Ceccaldi, who first published upon it (*Rev. Arch.*, 1872, p. 223), assigned it to the period of the Sargonids, and conceived the curious notion that the dog was armed with a natural lance. This is repeated by Perrot, who adds reassuringly that this is a strange detail which is reproduced by none of the monuments of a later date. On this point the Germans have not gone wrong. Doell correctly pronounced it an arrow from the bow of Hercules piercing one of the three necks, while the hero is in the act of drawing another arrow from his quiver. The lower part of the bow is really visible on the stone, somewhat as Doell gives it.

Klein (*Euphronios*, p. 63) regards this relief as one which preserves best the archetype of the myth, and declares that its style was still wholly under the influence of Assyrian-Phœnician art, and intimates that it belongs to a very early period (C. Smith, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, v. p. 182). Brunn also considers it a product of the Sargonid epoch, and calls it the first representation of a Greek myth with which we meet (*Gr. Kunstgeschichte*, i. p. 114). It may be granted that the Assyrian manner is shown by the arrangement

of the scene in different planes, but the story of the myth requires a mountainous district, and the post of Hercules is distinctly upon a height, while the herdsman and his cattle are naturally in the lower ground.[1] Hence this factor must be allowed its weight, exhibiting thus far the Greek element in the composition. Brunn dwells upon the Assyrian pattern of the tree, and adds that the imitation in the hair and beard of Eurytion is unmistakable. In the last particulars we join issue with him decidedly. The beard is not of the habitual square cut of the Assyrian, and it is rather longer than the Assyrian; while the hair, in its length and in its falling upon the breast, instead of behind upon the shoulders, is wholly un-Assyrian. Perrot has also appealed to the Assyrian aquiline nose; but in this he has been misled by Ceccaldi's drawing. The original exhibits a stumpy, brutal nose, and a head in its entirety such as Greek art gave to monsters and barbarous creatures in the sixth century. A good example is that of the Centaurs on the Cæretanian hydria, *Annali d. Institut.*, 1863, Tav. E; Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, ii. p. 1042. Perrot adds to the Assyrian features of the relief the hump-backed cattle; but these were native to Cyprus, and the artist has depicted what he was accustomed to see about him, just as the Chalcidian vase painter put the white ox of Eubœa into the herd of Geryon (Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasen*, ii. Taf. 105; Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, i. p. 1631), and Euphronius the short-horns of Attica (Klein, *Euphron.*, p. 55). It may be added that the zebu, which was known to the Greeks as the Carian ox, was also made to do duty for the herd of Geryon on the bronze medallion of Caracalla, struck for the town of Blaundus, in southwestern Phrygia (Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, i. p. 1638). Consequently our relief as a whole exhibits but a very slight tinge of anything that can be rightly regarded as Assyrian. On the other hand, the pure Greek spirit that breathes through the whole form of Hercules and of Eurytion, their nudity, ingeniously emphasized by the background formed in the one case by the lion's skin, and in the other by the short square garment, together with the animation of the herd, prove that it belongs to an epoch when the Greek tide from the west had swept overwhelmingly into Cyprus and dominated its plastic methods. That

[1] A similar device for a somewhat similar purpose from Greece itself, may be seen on the Corinthian vase, *Jahrbuch d. Inst.* vii. Taf. 2, where the Greeks issuing from the Trojan horse are fighting in four zones, some from the back of the gigantic horse against opponents on a level with them in the uppermost zone.

this epoch can have been as early as the first half of the seventh century is forbidden by all the evidence that has thus far come from Cyprus or Hellas. On the contrary, the whole style and treatment of the work is that of the second half of the sixth century, as has been succinctly stated already by Cecil Smith (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, v. p. 182), and by Furtwängler (Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, i. p. 2204); and the latter justly draws attention to the similarity of the form of Hercules to that on Cypriote coins of the fifth century. That the conception here again is largely due to Greek vase paintings hardly needs to be dwelt upon.

A. C. MERRIAM.

Hercules, Hydra, and Crab.

THE myth of the Hydra is one of those luminous creations by which the poetic spirit of the Greek was continually embodying in concrete form the operations of nature, and making their essence immortal to the sense by the imaginative power with which they were imbued. A narrow strip of coast land, hemmed between mountain and sea, gradually formed by streams bursting from the foothills, and finally producing marsh and malarious exhalations — this was enough material for the poetic alembic to create a deadly monster with multitudinous snaky heads and long, trailing, snaky coils, out of whose many mouths poured so foul and poisonous a vapour that it destroyed those who approached its den or passed that way. The efforts of man to eradicate the pest are personified in the hero Hercules and his constant friend and helper Iolaus, who undertook to slay the monster and rid the land of it. They typify advancing civilization, which conquers the wild powers of nature and ameliorates the condition of man. The persistent character of the malarious influence, which is no sooner thought to be quelled than it bursts out afresh, is vividly portrayed by the experience of Hercules, who found that where a head was cut off or bruised two immediately grew in its place. The cleansing power of fire was at last resorted to, and the pest was destroyed.

The Hydra myth is referred to in the *Theogony* of Hesiod (313–316), but briefly and without detail. Alcæus, Simonides, Euripides, are chiefly concerned with the varying number of the snaky heads. Apollodorus (ii. 5. 2) offers us the fullest account which we possess among Greek sources. It contains certain distinct features worthy of notice. The Hydra is large of body and has nine heads. Hercules mounts his chariot, and Iolaus drives him to the den, where the horses are stayed, and Hercules seeks the monster. As she issues from her lurking-place the combat is joined. She involves one of his feet in her folds, and he attacks her heads with his club without success, as two spring forth where one is bruised. A huge crab also comes to her assistance and lays hold of his foot. Killing this, the

hero calls Iolaus to his aid, who sears the wounds and bars their growth, and the victory is won.

Some have thought that the account of Apollodorus goes back to Panyasis in the fifth century, and have found support for their theory by the statement of the Pseudo-Eratosthenes (*Catast.*, 11) that the episode of the crab was related in the *Heraclea* of Panyasis. But this authority does not aver that Panyasis invented the story, and it is much more likely that all its salient features are due to some earlier poet, probably Pisander of Rhodes (Paus. ii. 27. 4), as was the case with the Geryon myth; and, as there, the proof comes from the works of art which present these features prior to the time of Panyasis. It is true that we cannot deny the possibility of the origination of such a story in art alone, and that it then made its way into literature; but this is not the usual course, and the persistency of the type is against it.

Among the labours of Hercules the conflict with the Hydra was a favourite subject with the artist, not only in vase painting, to which it was best adapted, but also in sculpture, coins, and gems. These representations may be divided into three classes: —

I. Those in which Iolaus is present, but not yet engaged in the conflict.

II. Those in which Iolaus is assisting to subdue the monster.

III. Those which, for the convenience of the artist or by the confinement of his space, abridge the representation to Hercules and the Hydra alone.

The subject has been treated with great detail many times, especially by Welcker, *Annali d. Instituto*, xiv., 1842, p. 163; *Monumenti d. Inst.*, iii. T. 46; Konitzer, *Herakles und die Hydra*, Breslau, 1861; J. Schneider, *Die Zwölf Kämpfe des Herakles in der älteren griechischen Kunst;* and Furtwängler, Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, i. *sub voc. Herakles.* The present paper is concerned with one phase of it chiefly, and that a limited one; those instances, namely, in which the crab appears as an antagonist of the hero. The accompanying illustration (Fig. 1), is from a mutilated group found by General di Cesnola at Golgos with other sculptures relating to Hercules, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It has already been published in the *Atlas*, i. No. 92, Pl. xxvii. Its significance was recognized by me several years ago, directly after it was put upon exhibition at the building in Central Park, but I have seen no published allusion to it as a representation of the Hydra conflict, except in Furtwängler's article as cited above. The material of this group is not "sand-

stone," as he there thinks (p. 2199), but is calcareous (poros), as is habitual with these Cypriote sculptures. He is also wrong in his conjecture that the serpent heads of Nos. 76, 77, *Atlas*, belong to the same group. The vanquished serpent body and neck on the left of our figure give a criterion for the size of the heads and necks of the group, and it may be said positively that those of Nos. 76, 77, are too large. The group was carved out of a single stone, the slab now remaining forming the base upon which the figures stood. This base was apparently fastened to its support by two large tenons, the holes for which are visible on either side of the slab. The group has been broken away, leaving only those parts which were attached to the base. We see the feet of the heroes, the crab, the twofold

Fig. 1.

body of the Hydra, and one of the necks stricken to the ground. The dimensions of the feet indicate that the group was about two feet in height.[1]

The presence of the crab upon the monuments to be assigned to classes I. and II., as designated above, is indicative of the early period of Greek art, probably from the time of Pisander to the close of the sixth century. It has not been found upon any of the red-figure vases. The instances known may be distributed as follows:—

I. The Poros Pediment of the Acropolis at Athens, a low relief assigned to the seventh century or the beginning of the sixth. The Hydra occupies the right half of the pediment, its snaky coils serving helpfully to fill the narrowing space toward the corner.

[1] Measurements:—

Total length of slab,	.63 m.	Width of body of crab,	.08 m.
Greatest width of slab,	.23	Height of left claw,	.03
Least width of slab,	.18	Width of body of Hydra,	.08
Length of right foot of Iolaus,	.09	Length of snake to left,	.25
Length of left foot of Iolaus,	.10	Length of body to right,	.20
Width of left foot of Iolaus,	.048	Height of body,	.07
Length of body of crab,	.08	Distance between body and right foot of Hercules,	.05

Hercules attacks the monster from the left with his club. Some of the heads are already beaten down. Behind him Iolaus, with one foot in the chariot, holds the four horses by the reins, but turns his head to watch the conflict. The horses' heads are lowered, as if sniffing at the enormous crab, which seems to rise up toward them as far as the limits of the pediment will permit. In this case the artist has made the crab serve the purpose of filling the angle of the pediment, instead of bringing it into the conflict as active participant against Hercules. He may have replied to critics that he had chosen the moment when the crab was still on its way to the hero from the sea.

II. 1. Vase from Ægina, in Breslau (*Mon. d. Inst., loc. cit.*, No. 2). A chariot with horses stands at either end of the scene, waiting; the reins are held by a groom. Hercules from the left is attacking the Hydra with the straight sword, Iolaus on the right with the sickle-shaped sword. The crab rises between the legs of Hercules.

2. Vase in Berlin (*Mon. d. Inst.*, No. 1). Hercules is on the left using the sickle-shaped sword, Iolaus on the right with a torch in each hand. The crab rises between the legs of Hercules till its fore claws reach his knees.

3. Vase in Paris (*Mon. d. Inst.*, No. 5). Here the scene is divided into two panels, one on each side of the vase. On one side is Hercules wielding the sickle-shaped sword; on the other is Iolaus with drawn bow, and Athena with her back turned to him, threatening the crab, which rises before her with claws stretched up to their utmost. The style of this vase would bring it down toward the close of the period.

4. Vase from Argos (*Archäologische Zeitung*, 1859, T. 125). On the extreme left are horses turned loose from the chariot. Then comes Athena, succeeded by one of the heroes slashing with the sickle-shaped sword. On the opposite side of the Hydra is a hero wielding an instrument with a straight handle and with two projections at right angles to it. Conze called this a torch, and named the hero Iolaus, as usual. Others have insisted that it must be Hercules in the unusual position on the right, employing a form of sickle-shaped sword. (See Schneider, *loc. cit.*, p. 24.) Between the legs of this figure is the crab, rather lifeless than otherwise. These peculiarities, with several others connected with the vase, have led some to regard it as spurious, though it has been stoutly defended by Conze and is accepted by Furtwängler. It is true that there is a strong tendency throughout the black-figure period to make the protagonist

face the right, but there are many exceptions. (*Cf.* Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1876, p. 113.)

III. The coins of the Cretan town Phæstus show in the fourth century the abridged type of Hercules contending alone against the monster. He attacks from the right, and between his feet habitually rises the crab, as if to grasp his legs toward the knees.

In no case thus far mentioned is the creature so placed as actually to seize the hero in its grip, much less bite his *foot*, as described in the story: — *Quum Hercules cum Hydra ad fontem Lernaeum depugnaret, hic Cancer Herculis pedem morsu deprehendit, ut Panyasis auctor dicit, quem miratus Hercules calcatum contrivit* (Schol. *ad Germanici Aratea Phœnomena*, 146); ἔδακεν αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα . . . θυμωθεὶς δ' ὁ Ἡρακλῆς δοκεῖ τῷ ποδὶ συνθλάσαι αὐτόν (Ps.-Eratosth., *Catast.*, 11). The Cypriote slab is the only instance that I know where this feature of the myth is represented. The crab rests firmly upon the ground, and has seized the heel of the hero with a determination that justifies the anger of its antagonist, who would naturally fling it off and crush it to death beneath his heel. There is room for difference of opinion here as to which side of the slab was intended to be presented to the spectator. In the *Atlas* the usual scheme is followed, where Hercules attacks from the left, with the crab at his heel, and Iolaus is on the right. In the drawing given above I have reversed the slab and brought the opposite side to the front. In support of this, various facts seem to tell. As thus placed, the entire surface of the slab in view is more carefully smoothed than it is behind, and the space between the left foot of Iolaus and the Hydra is not chiselled out down to the sole of the foot, but left at some height above it and rather rough in surface. This is not the case with the space between the left foot of Hercules and the body of the Hydra; on the contrary, it is brought to a proper surface, and the foot is well outlined. Again, from this point of view the crab is given its deserved prominence, and the left claw exhibits the fact that the artist has taken the trouble to sculpture quite through between the two nippers, as he did not do with the right claw, and he has also given the left one a better articulation to the body than he has done on the other side. The left claw also grasps more of the heel, as it strikes the foot in front of the ankle bone, while the other grasps it behind the bone. All this seems to show that the crab was intended to be seen from the left side, and it may be added that the entire arrangement of the scene appears to favour this. Sufficient evidence has already been cited to show that such

a scheme is admissible, and a second group to be described below adds to the probability.

The tail of the Hydra is now broken away before it reaches Hercules' right foot, and must have sloped suddenly to an abrupt ending near his toe. This is seen in vase paintings also (*Mon. d. Inst., loc. cit.*, No. 3). We have no means of deciding what weapons were employed, but the utter deadness of the snake between the feet of Iolaus would seem to argue the torch in his hands.

In endeavouring to fix the date of this monument it is to be observed that the feet alone can be employed as a criterion. Nothing else gives any clue. The position of the feet is that usual in archaic art, the left advanced before the right; but the shape is not long and flat, as in the early archaic, but rather short and plump. They have lost much of their original outline, but still exhibit fair modelling, with proper regard to the length and shape of the toes, and a certain feeling for the tense strain of the conflict. These facts, and general considerations of Cypriote art history, lead me to assign the slab to a period not far from 500 B.C.

The drawings on the following page represent a smaller group in the same collection, but hitherto unpublished.[1] Some of its features are not altogether clear.

To all appearances the stone is complete on the front and back and on the left end, but broken at the right. So far as is shown by the part preserved, the crab was omitted from the scene. On the left (Fig. 2) is seen the right foot of one of the heroes, unexpectedly planted quite at right angles to the line of action and rather beyond its field. No definite remains of the left foot are visible. It cannot be conceived as resting beneath the broken extremity of the monster's body, although this curves upward there in all its lines and rests on an elevation about the height of the foot; for there is no evidence of a continuation of the foot to the body which must have existed. Neither could the foot have been supported on the body of the serpent, unless upon the part now broken away, and this would not be a natural position. At the opposite end of the scene the warrior has set his sandalled foot firmly upon what seems at first sight the

[1] Measurements: —

Greatest length of slab,	.18 m.	Length of foot on right,	.04 m.
Least length of slab,	.155	Width of ankle at break,	.03
Width of slab,	.085	" hand,	.02
Length of foot on the left,	.037	Length of snaky body,	.125
Width of foot on the left, across toes,	.017	Width of main body across break,	.03

sole of a large foot extending into a thick leg resting upon its knee. As this, however, is the thickest part of the whole complex, I conjecture that it represents the main body of the monster, which rose higher and then branched off into the smaller snaky member. This

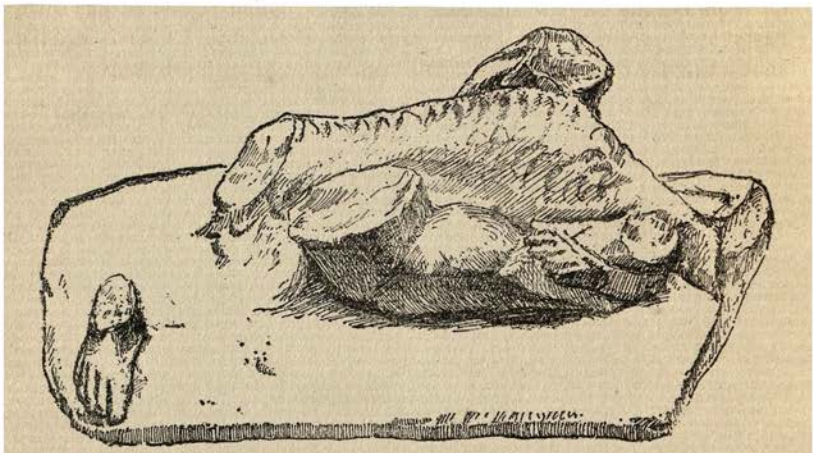


Fig. 2.

again descended by a curve and turned to the right, behind the body, and passed off toward the hero, where its extremity is lost with the remainder of the stone at that end. The right hand of the hero here grasps the handle of a sickle-sword, which encircles the side of

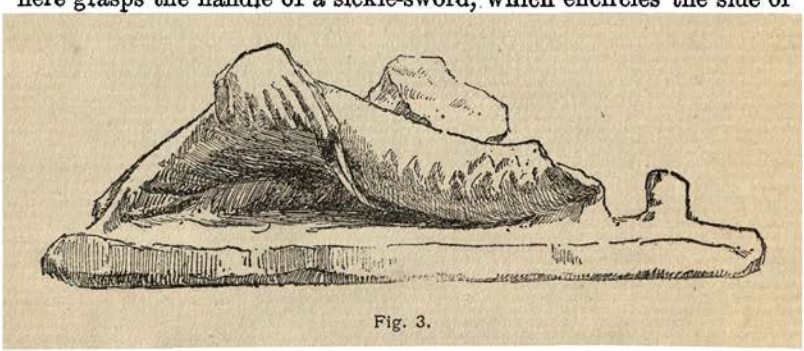


Fig. 3.

the Hydra (Fig. 3), and he is in the act of drawing it toward him with all his force, sickle-fashion, to slash open the body. The handle bends somewhat in the hand and protrudes beyond the little finger in a well-formed knob. The forefinger is pressed against the blade to steady the blow. There can be little doubt that this hero

is Hercules, stationed on the right, as in the previous group. The longest portion of the snake is cross-hatched to represent scales; but the part in the foreground (Fig. 2), held down by the sandalled foot, is smooth. It bears a few traces of red paint, and these are quite numerous on the sandal. The workmanship of the group is hasty and careless, and leaves the period in doubt. One groove shows the use of a flat chisel, five-sixteenths of an inch wide.

A. C. MERRIAM.

Onomatopoetic Words in Latin.

QUINTILIAN'S dictum with regard to the occurrence of mimetic words in Latin is sufficiently well known: *'Ονοματοποιία quidem, id est 'fictio nominis,' Graecis inter maximas habita virtutes, nobis vix permittitur; et sunt plurima ita posita ab eis qui sermonem primi fecerunt aptantes affectibus vocem: nam 'mugitus' et 'sibilus' et 'murmur' inde venerunt. Deinde, tamquam consummata sint omnia nihil generare audemus ipsi cum multa cotidie ab antiquis ficta moriantur; vix illa quae πεποιημένα vocant quae ex vocibus in usum receptis quocunque modo declinantur, nobis permittimus.*[1]

This passage is only one of a number regarding which it is always necessary to bear in mind that the author's standpoint is that of the professional grammarian and rhetorician who is giving voice in Latin to the dicta that his predecessors, Greeks by birth, set forth in their native language. Quintilian discourses of both linguistic and literary questions, and his illustrations and examples are in the main drawn from the orators and writers of Rome; but his mental attitude is in many respects that of the men who looked upon the Romans with a touch of the "certain condescension in foreigners" which Lowell has immortalized for Americans. It was quite natural, in a field which had been first opened to the Romans by Greek instructors, and in which the models, the text-books, and the traditions were all of Greek origin, that the highest excellence should be found only in the closest approximation to the Hellenic ideal. This is, in fact, Quintilian's critical formula. The Greeks have attained to literary and linguistic perfection. That is best which is most successfully modelled upon their work. Any marked departure from their precedents and standards, or from the immediate inspiration to be drawn from them, is, on the face of it, to be reckoned a defect. Latin literature is only the *levis umbra* of the Greek. One of its greatest names is that of Cicero,[2] the consummate rhetorician, trained in the Greek schools, and able to declaim

[1] viii. 6. 31, 32. [2] x. 1. 105.

extemporaneously in Greek so well as to wring a sigh from Molo. The other Roman who is worthy of high rank is Vergil,[1] who, in composing his great poetical mosaic, ransacked Greek literature with the fine-toothed industry of a Macpherson. Lucretius, with his originality, his splendid imagery, and his passionate intensity of purpose, is to be passed over almost in silence, and to be grouped beside Æmilius Macer, the bird-and-snake man, with the perfunctory label *difficilis*.[2] The author of *Attis* is not to be mentioned among the lyric writers at all, and when cited later, is to be styled, with ostentatious indifference, *aliquis poetarum*.[3]

And so, in his linguistic criticisms, Quintilian is thoroughly convinced of the inferiority of the Latin language to the Greek, — of its comparative poverty, its inflexibility, its unwillingness to receive new and expressive formations into its vocabulary.[4] But in some instances Quintilian would appear to have made up his mind perhaps too hastily, and to have set down his unfavourable judgment without sufficient investigation of the actual facts. Such an *a priori* assumption seems, for instance, to be involved in the statement cited at the beginning of this paper; for, like the somewhat similar verdict of Brachet with regard to French, it is certainly too conservative to be just. That the Latin language was unusually rich in the most primitive kind of onomatopœias, — those which are formed directly in imitation of some natural sound, — and that the Romans themselves recognized and enjoyed these extremely expressive vocables, there is ample proof. It would be almost sufficient to cite the curious chapter of the *Pratum* of Suetonius, where, in treating of animals, he brings together a remarkable collection of the onomatopoetic verbs that express the sounds uttered by the various birds and beasts.[5] From several passages cited from Varro by Nonius (e.g. 156. 25; 450. 11), it seems probable that the missing portions of the treatise *De Lingua Latina* embodied a still earlier discussion of the same kind. Spartianus, in his life of Geta,[6] gives an account of how that emperor interested himself in the mimetic capacity of the Latin language: *Familiare illi fuit has quaestiones grammaticis proponere, ut dicerent singula animalia quomodo vocem emitterent, velut: agni balant, porcelli grunniunt, palumbes minurriunt,*

[1] x. 1. 85.
[2] x. 1. 87.
[3] xi. 1. 38.
[4] Cf. i. 5. 65–70; xii. 10. 27–34, 36.
[5] Reifferscheid, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli præter Cæsares Reliquiæ*, pp. 247–254, with the notes. (Leipzig, 1890.)
[6] Ch. 5. *Script. Hist. Aug.*, p. 195, ed. Peter. (Leipzig, 1883.)

porci grundiunt, ursi saeviunt, leones rugiunt, leopardi rictant, elefanti barriunt, ranae coaxant, equi hinniunt, asini rudiunt, tauri mugiunt, easque de veteribus adprobare. The last five words are especially significant as showing that the grammarians were not allowed to invent and palm off any mimetic coinages of their own, but were obliged to show good classical authority for every onomatopoetic verb produced. The *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius (written, perhaps, about A.D. 450[1]) shows a continuance of the interest which this subject had for linguists,—an interest that endured to the Middle Ages, as is seen in various collections of imitative words. The most curious of these collections is the so-called *Carmen de Philomela*, whose seventy elegiac lines deal with the various sounds emitted by birds and quadrupeds.[2] This poem, ascribed by Goldast to a mythical Albius Ovidius Iuventinus, is of earlier date than the eleventh century (to which period the oldest MSS. belong), and is possibly drawn from the treatise of Suetonius already cited.[3] At any rate, it does not depart from the classical vocabulary. A second poem of sixteen hexameters, and found in a Wolfenbüttel MS. of the tenth century, is very similar in subject and treatment.[4] A third, entitled *De Voce Hominis Absona*, of twelve hexameters, and also composed in the Middle Ages, is found in a Paris codex of the tenth century.[5] Still another poem, *De Philomela*, of twenty-eight elegiacs, ascribed by Goldast to one Iulius Speratus, is preserved in MSS. of the tenth century.[6] The imitative words in these different productions are in themselves sufficient to show that Quintilian's remark is too sweeping; and one would on the face of it be surprised to find any lack of onomatopœias in a language whose

[1] See Mommsen, *Abh. der sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.* iii. 231 (1853); Reifferscheid, *op cit.* p. 251.

[2] Text in the *Poetæ Latini Minores*, ed. Bährens, vol. v., pp. 363–367 (Leipzig, 1883). There is an interesting but unscientific commentary given as an appendix to Nodier's *Dictionnaire des Onomatopées Françoises* (2d ed. Paris, 1828); and it is also annotated by Lemaire in vol. 140, of his *Bibliotheca Classica Latina*.

[3] See Wackernagel, *Voces Variæ Animantium* (Basel, 1869); Löwe in the *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. xxxiv. pp. 493–496 (1879).

[4] Text in Bährens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* v. pp. 367–368.

[5] Text in Bährens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* v. p. 368. See further in Wackernagel, *op. cit.*

[6] It must be a good deal older than the date of the MSS., since in the ninth century it was imitated by Alvarus of Cordova. See Manitius, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, xliv. pp. 548 foll. (1889); and Ebart, *Allg. Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, ii. 310. Text in Bährens, pp. 368–370.

greatest writers show so remarkably keen an appreciation of its possibilities in adapting sound to sense, and in which the most perfect onomatopoetic line ever written is to be found.[1]

The accompanying glossary of the onomatopoetic words in Latin is part of an extended study upon which the writer is engaged, in the sources of the Latin vocabulary. It aims to give only those words which are primarily onomatopoetic and formed with mimetic intention, excluding the large number which, though originally not imitative, are often so used because of the appropriateness of their sounds to the objects or actions described: e.g. *quirīto*, primarily from *Quiris* (Varro, *L. L.* vi. § 68 Müller), but sometimes used with onomatopoetic intention ("to queek"), like the true mimetic verb, *quirrīto* (*Carm. de Philom.* 55).[2] The list has been made with much conservatism, as the very name, onomatopœia, is at present somewhat in disrepute, owing to the excessive claims of writers like Nodier and Wedgwood; and while many words are omitted for which an onomatopoetic origin has been often claimed, it is believed that few have been inserted whose right to a place in the glossary will be seriously questioned. Some, in fact, have even been shut out for whose inclusion a good case might be made, such as *mucus*, *mungo*, *glus*, *spiro*, and *tonus*. Words that are known to be directly borrowed from the Greek have also been excluded.

In each case, the primary word of onomatopoetic origin is printed in bold-faced type, followed in brackets by the word secondarily developed out of it (whether these last be onomatopoetic in use, or not), and also its immediate cognates and compounds. In this manner one may readily see how large a contribution to the vocabulary of the language the mimetic principle can be shown to have actually made. It is evident that, from their nature, a wholly satisfactory classification is impossible; since imitative words are not formed by any definite law nor from any exactly defined source. This is especially true of those which are applied to birds and animals. Thus, for example, the sound conventionally expressed by the combinations $\sqrt{gr}$, $\sqrt{cr}$, $\sqrt{gra}$, $\sqrt{cra}$, etc., lies at the base of a great many names which to this extent are related; yet as they are independently formed, and are not derived one from the other, they are given here under several heads, with cross-references from one group to the other. Natural sounds, *Lallwörter*, etc., have likewise

[1] Verg. *Æn.* viii. 596, superior in its gallop to the Homeric model (*Iliad*, x. 535), because wholly dactylic.

[2] Also *quisquiliae*, *singultus*, fine onomatopœias, but not originally formed as such.

been added to the list. Words to which a single asterisk is prefixed are obsolete or assumed forms. Two asterisks denote probable ἅπαξ λεγόμενα.

GLOSSARY.

aĕr. See VENTUS.

anĭma and **anĭmus.** Air; breath. Skt. *anas;* Gk. ἄνεμος; Gm. *Unst*, windstorm; Lowland Scotch *aynd.* [animabilis, animal, animalis, animaliter, animatio, animator, **animatrix, **animatus (noun), animitus (adverb), animo, animositas, animosus, animose, animula, Animula, animulus, animadversio, **animadversor, animadverto, animaequus, **animicida, **exanimabiliter, exanimalis, exanimatio, exanimis, exanimo, inanimalis, inanimans (adj.), inanimatus (adj.), inanimis, inanimus, magnanimis, magnanimitas, magnanimus, pusillanimis, pusillanimitas, redanimatio, redanimo, semianimis, semianimus, unanimans, unanimis, unanimitas, unanimiter, unanimus.] See FLO; HALO; HIO; OVO; VENTUS.

atta. Father. From the language of children. Paul. *ex* Fest. p. 11, Müller. Skt. *attā* (mother); Gk. ἄττα; Goth. *atta;* (*ἀϊβερ*, mother).

aura. See VENTUS.

***baba** or ***bava.** Reduplication of the natural infantile syllable **ba.** (See note by Friedländer on Petron. 63, *babatonem*, where Bücheler reads *vavatonem*, and cf. VA, VAH, infra.) Gk. βαβάζω. English *babble;* French *babil;* Gm. *bappeln* (Grimm). Skeat refuses to connect the English *babe* directly with this onomatopoetic source, but regards its form as modified by infantine influences. *Etym. Dict.*, s.v. *babe.* [**babato, babulus, baburrus, and possibly the proper names Babilus (Suet. *Nero*, 36) and Babullius (Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 48. 1).] The Romance languages are rich in derivatives from *baba.* Cf. Diez, *Etymolog. Wörterb. d. roman. Sprach*, s.v. *babbeo, badare, bambo*, and *bava*, where the onomatopoetic origin is fully maintained. Strong, Logeman, and Wheeler cite the Old French *baer*, Provençal *badar*, 'to open the mouth,' 'to say *ba*' (*Hist. of Language*, p. 160 n.). See BUA.

balbus. See BEE.

bālo. See BEE.

barbărus. See BEE.

barrus. An elephant. [**barrinus, barrio, barritus.] This was regarded by the Romans as an imitative word (see the passage of Spartianus already cited, and the *Carmen de Philom.* 53), but is at least doubtful.

baubor. To bow-wow (of dogs). Lucret. v. 1071; Suet. *Reliq.* ed. Reiff. p. 250. Not a ἅπαξ λεγ., as given by Lewis and Short.

bee. Baa; the bleat of a sheep. Varro, *R. R.* ii. 1. Gk. βῆ βῆ. (Cratin. Διον. 5; Aristoph. *Fr.* 562.) Gm. *bā, blöken;* French *bêler* (in Old French *béeler*). Properly, an onomatopœia used of the sheep, and subsequently extended to the confused sounds made by other creatures. So the Gk. βλῆχή in Hom. *Odyss.* xii. 266, and used of children by Euripides, *Cycl.* 48. [bălatro, Balatro, balatus, balbe, balbus, balbutio (cf. Non. p. 80. 13), bālo, bebo (Suet. Reiff. p. 249), belbus (hyena), belo, blatero (blattero), blateratio, blateratus (noun), blatero, blatero (noun), blatio, deblatero, **dibalo, subbalbe.] Cf. BABA.

Curtius regards the primary syllable as "*blá*, softened into *balá*, lengthened by different consonants" (*Gk. Etym.* i. 362). But the Varronian form *belo* and the analogy of the Greek alike suggest *be* as the base, developed in different ways. Diez compares the Romagnol *be* = *balatus;* the Catalonian *be*, a sheep; and the Norman *bai*, a wether. Of the same general character is the Gk. *βάρβαρος*, imitative of a confused medley of sound. So in Aristoph. *Aves*, 199, *οἱ βάρβαροι* is used of the twittering birds; and cf. Herod. ii. 57 (of the sound of doves); Strabo, 662; Roth, *Ueber Sinn und Gebrauch des Wortes 'Barbar'* (Nürnberg, 1814); Curt. *Gk. Etymol.* i. 362; Peck in the *Am. Journal of Philology*, vol. vii. (1887). Hintner (*Etymolog. Wörterb.*) seems to regard *barbarus* as developed independently of the Greek, comparing the Gm. *Wirrwarr;* but the native Latin equivalent of *βάρβαρος* is evidently *balbus*. Cf. the secondary onomatopœia *barbogliare* in Ital. (*βορβυρίζω*) and the French *baragouin*, the latter an onomatopoetic combination formed from non-onomatopoetic elements. See BAUBOR.

bēlo. See BEE.

****bilbo.** To glug; make the sound of water in a bottle. Naev. *Com. Frag.* 124, Ribbeck. *bilbit* = *βομβύζει* (Gloss. Philox.), *βομβυλίς*. Cf. A. Mai, *Auct. Class.* (*Thesaurus Nov. Lat.*) viii. 67., *id.* vii. 553, and GLUT-GLUT, infra.

bombus. A booming. Gk. *βόμβος* (*βομβάζω*, *βομβέω*, *τὸ βόμβο*, Aristoph. *Thesm.* 1176, *βομβυλιός*, etc.); French *boum;* Ital. *rimbombare;* Gm. *brunnen.* [bombilo, bombicus, bombilo, bombinator, bombio, bombito.] Bréal regards the Latin *bombus* as a purely borrowed word; but the onomatopœia is a very simple and natural one, and is found as a native word in the Germanic vocabularies; e.g. Dutch *bommen* (*bom*, a drum, occurs in Old Dutch), Middle Eng. *bommen;* Eng. *bombyl-bee* (Palsgrave); and *boom.* Some of the forms which occur in Latin are, however, evidently borrowed; e.g. *bombax* (*βομβάξ*), *bombizatio*, *bombyciae*, and the Plautine *Bombomachides.*

bōs (also **bŏvis**). A bull, ox, cow; "the creature which says *boo*"; the bellower. Skt. *gāus;* Gk. *βοῦς* (*βῶς*); A. S. *cú.* [boarius, boatus, boo (bovo), bovarius, bovatim (al. *boatim*, Nigid. *ap.* Non. p. 40. 25), Bovianum, Bovilla, bovillus, bovinator, bovinor, **bovinus, bovus (Charis, p. 58 P.), box (Gk. *βώξ*?), Bubona, bubsequa (busequa), bubulcarius, bubulcito (bubulcitor), bubulcus, Bubulcus, bubulinus, bubulus, bucetum, buculus, bucula, bufalus, **bovicidium, bucaeda, reboatus, reboo, semibos.] The connection of *bos* with *boo* is not universally admitted, but is extremely probable. See Bréal and Bailly, s.v. *bos.*

bu (Paul. *ex* Fest. p. 109, Müller), **bua** (Varro *ap.* Non. p. 81. 1). A natural sound made by infants (according to Varro, *l.l.*, in asking for drink). Hence the Romagnol onomatopoetic reduplication *bubu.* Diez, s.v. *bobo*, would give to **bibo** and its derivatives the same origin. If so, the causal form of *bibo*, i.e. ***buo**, occurring in Latin only in compounds (e.g. *imbuo*), is found directly from the infantile syllable. [**vinibua.] See BABA; PA; MA.

būbo. An owl. Gk. *βύας*, *βύζα.* Cf. the French *hibou;* Sp. *buho;* and ULULA, infra. [bubo (verb), **bubulo (bubilo), butio, buto.]

bulla. A bubble; something that boils. Cf. the Greek *βομβυλίς*; Lith. *bumbuls*; French *bulle*, *bouillir*, etc.; Eng. *boil.* [bullatio, bullatus, bullesco,

bullio, **bullitus, bullo (= bullio), bullula, combullio, ebullio, ebullitio, perbullio, rebullio, subbullio.]

căccăbo. To cackle (of the partridge). Gk. *κακκάβη*, the partridge; *κακκαβίζω*. See Fick, iii. 39 and cf. CACHINNO.

căchinno. To cackle (of human laughter). Gk. *καχάζω*, *καγχάζω*, *καχλάζω*. [cachinnabilis, cachinnatio, **cachinno (noun, Pers. i. 12, doubtful), cachinnosus, cachinnus, decachinno.]

caurio. To make the sound of the rutting panther. *Carm. de Philom.* 50.

clango. To clang. Gk. *κλάζω*, *κλαγγή* (the nasal not original), Gm. *Klang*. See Fick, i. 534, 538, 540. [clangor, inclango, **reclango.]

clōcio. See GLOCIO.

clottŏro. See GLOTTORO.

coaxo. See QUAXO.

****cocococo.** Clucking. (Petron. 59.) Cf. GLOCIO.

cornix, a crow; **corvus**, a raven. Both from an onomatopoetic base, imitative of the caw or croak of the birds, and found in the Gk. *κορώνη*, *κόραξ*, *κράζω*, (√*κραγ*), *κραυγή*, *κρώζω*; Gm. *krähen*; Icel. *kráka*; Eng. *crake*, *croak*, *crow*, and, according to Skeat, *crane*. [Corbulo, cornicor, cornicula, corvinus, Corvinus.] The Lat. *corax* is borrowed from the Greek. See CREPO; CROCO; GRACULUS. Possibly **corona** and its derivatives belong here.

crĕpo. To crack, crackle. Gm. *knackern*. Skeat connects *crepo* with the same onomatopoetic ancestor as *cornix* and *corvus*. [crepatura (cf. *crevasse*, *crevice*), crepax, crepitacillum, crepitaculum, crepito, crepitulum, crepitus, crepulus, crepundia, cruricrepida, decrepitus, increpatio, **increpative, increpator, increpatorius, increpito, increpitus, increpo, increpundia, percrepo, perterricrepus, praecrepo, recrepo, succrepo.

crōcio. To croak. Gk. *κρώζω*. [crŏtatio, crocio, crŏcito, crōcitus.] *Croco* occurs in Apuleius (*De Deo Socrat.* prol.), where most edd. read *gloco*, but the analogy of the other similar formations seems to render it certain that Hildebrand's reading, *croco*, is correct.

crocotta (?). An African wild creature, not identified. Capitol. *Anton.* 10.

crŏtălum. A rattle. *κρότος*, *κρόταλον*. [crotalia, crotalistria, crotalo (Suet. *Relig.* Reiff. p. 251)].

cŭcurrio. See CUCUS.

cuccuru (quantities doubtful). See CUCUS.

cucus. A daw. [cucubio, cucubo (cf. *κωκύω*), **cuculo, cuculus (French *coucou*), **cucurrio (cf. *κρέκω* and the doubtful *cuccuru* in Afran. *Com. Frag.* Ribbeck, 22)]. See CROCO.

curcŭlio. See GULA.

drenso. To make the noise of swans. Suet. *Relig.* p. 249.

drindio. To make the sound of the weasel. *Carm. de Philom.* 61. In Suet. *Relig.* p. 250, **drindro.**

eiŭlo and **heiŭlor.** To cry *hei, hei!* [eiulabilis, eiulabundus, eiulatio, eiulatus, **eiulito.]

faccĕlo. To make the sound of the thrush. (Poet. ap. Bähr. *Poet. Lat. Min.* v. p. 367).

flo. To blow. Cf. the Gk. *ἐκ-φλαίνω*, and the French *souffler* (*sufflare*). [flabello, flabellulum, flabellum, flabilis, flabra, flabralis, flamen (*πνεῦμα*), **fla-

mentum, flatilis, flato, flator, flatura, **flaturalis, flaturarius, flatus, Flora, Florianus, Florius, Floralis, **floralia (a flower-garden), flores, floresco, floreus, **floridulus, floridus, **floritio, florosus, florulentus, florus, flos (see Fick, iii. 222; Skeat. s.v. 'blow' (2), **floscellus, **floscule, flosculus, flabellifera, floricomus, florifer, florifertum, florigenus, floriger, **florilegus, **floriparus, affiator, afflatus, afflo, **conflabello, conflagos, conflatilis, conflatis, deflo, defloratio, defloreo, defloresco, defloro, difflatus, diffio, efflo, effloreo, effloresco, exsufflator, exsufflo, inflabello, inflabilis, inflamen, inflatilis, inflatio, inflatus, inflo, **infloresco, insufflatio, insufflo, **obsufflo, perefflo, perflabilis, perflamen, perflatio, perflatus, perflo, praefloro, proflo, **reconflo, **reflabri, **reflatio, reflatus, reflo, refloresco, subinflo, sufflabilis, sufflamen, sufflamino, sufflatio, sufflatorium, sufflo.] Of the same general character are, probably, the verbs **fleo** (*flevo*) and **fluo.** The same root appears in the fine Greek onomatopœia *φλοῖσβος*.

****fringulio.** To make the sound of jackdaws. Suet. *Reliq.* p. 250.

frĭtinnio. To make the noise of the *cicada. Carm. de Philom.* 35; used also by Seneca of childish sounds. Cf. TINNIO.

furfur. Beaten out bran. [furfuraceus, furfurarius, furfurcus, furfuriculae, furfurosus.]

gallus. See GARRIO.

gannio. To snarl (of dogs and foxes). (gannatura, gannitio, gannitus, oggannio.]

garrio. To chatter. Gk. *γῆρυς*. Cf. the Gm. *girren.* [gallina, gallinaceus, gallinula, gallulasco, gallus (**garlus*), garritor, garritus, garrulo, garrulitas, garrulus.] Cf. CORNIX.

****gingrum** (*φωνὴ χηνός*, Gloss. Philox.). The noise made by geese. [gingriator, gingrina, gingrio, gingritus.]

ginnus. See HINNUS.

glattĭto or **glaucĭto.** To yelp. *Carm. de Philom.* 60.

gliccio. To make the sound of geese. Suet. *Reliq.* p. 249.

glōcĭdo. See GLOCIO.

glōcio or **clōcio.** To cluck. Col. viii. 5. 4. In Paul. *ex* Fest. p. 99, Müller, are given the forms **glocĭdo** and **gluttio,** which seem to belong here. *glocio* is the Ital. *chiocciare* or *crocciare;* the Sp. *cloquear;* the French *glousser.* Cf. the Gm. *glucken;* and *Glucke,* a brooding hen.

****gloctŏro, glottŏro.** To clatter the beak (of the stork). *Carm. de Philom.* 29. Incorrectly given by Lewis and Short, as used of the *cry* of the stork. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* vi. 97.

****glut-glut.** The gurgle of liquid in a bottle. *Anthol. Lat.* ii. 405, Burmann. French *glou-glou.* Cf. BILBO.

glūtio. See GLOCIO.

gluttio. See GULA.

grācŭlus. A jackdaw. From its note *gra-gra* (Quint. i. 6. 37). French *choucas.* [**gracillo, graccito.]

grōco. See CROCIO.

grunnio and **grundio.** To grunt. Gk. *γρύζειν* from *γρῦ* (Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 17), but see Hesych. s.v. French *grogner;* Gm. *grunzen.* [grunnitus, Grunnius (*Test. Porcell.* init.), degrunnio, **digrunnio, **suggrunnio.]

grus. A crane. Gk. *γέρανος*. Paul. *ex* Fest. p. 97; *Carm. de Philom.* 23. [gruo.] Cf. CROCO.

gŭla. The gullet. French *goulet.* Related to this are a number of words formed upon an onomatopoetic base imitative of swallowing, and denoting the throat and its various functions. Cf. the Gk. γλῶσσα, γλῶττις, GLOCIO, GLUT-GLUT, Gm. *Gurgel, gurgeln,* and Eng. *gulp, gargle, gurgle,* etc. [gluttio, gluto, gulo, gulosa, gulositas, gulosus, gurges, Gurges, gurgito, gurgulio, gurgulis (= curculio), gurgustiolum, gurgustium, guttur, gutturosus, **degluttio, degulator, degulo, **egurgio, ingluttito, ingluvies, ingluviosus, ingurgitatio, ingurgito, **sugglutio. Probably to the same source are to be assigned **gutta, gustus,** and their derivatives.

hālo. To breathe. [halatio, halatus, halito, halitus, anhelatio, anhelator, anhelitus, anhelo, anhelus, inhalo, **redhalo, **subteranhelo.] See ANIMA; FLO; HIO; VENTUS.

hinnio. To whinny. Cf. Swift's Houyhnhnms. French *hennir;* Gm. *wiehern.* [hinna, hinnibilis, hinnibundus, hinnienter, hinnito (Gloss. Philox.), hinnitus, **hinnulea, hinnulcus, hinnulus, hinnus (ginnus, Mart. vi. 77. 7), adhinnio, inhinnio.]

hio. To yawn, gape. Gk. χάω, χαίνω, χάσκω. Gm. *gähnen.* [**hiantia, hiasco, hiatus, hieto, hisco, hiulco, hiulcus, dehisco, dishiasco, inhianter, inhiatio, inhio, inhisco, *semihio (ptcp. semihians, Catull. 61. 220), semihiulcus.]

hirco. To howl (of the lynx). *Carm. de Philom.* 51.

hirrio and **irrio.** To snarl, sound the dog's letter. Cf. Pers. i. 109, 110. [**hirritus.]

irrio. SEE HIRRIO.

iugo. To make the sound of the *milvus.* Varro *ap.* Non. 179. 2.

labea, labia, and **labium.** A lip. From an onomatopoetic base, imitative of the sound of lapping, and found in all languages. Cf. Gk. λάπτω; Welsh *llepio;* O.H.G. *laffan;* Gm. *laffen;* Icel. *lepja;* Pers. *lab.* (E. H. Palmer, *Pers. Dict.* col. 511; Fick. i. 751, iii. 266.) [labellum, labeosus, labio (noun), labratum, **labrosus, labrum, **lambito, lambitus, lambo, **delambo, elambo, praelambo, praeterlambo, relambo, **sublabium, **sublabro.]

lalla. Lullaby. Schol. on Persius, iii. 18. Cf. Hieron. *Epist.* 14. 13; and the Gloss. Philox. [lallo (= βαβάζω), lallum or lallus (Auson. *Ep.* 16. 91).] See BABA; MA; PA.

lingo. To lick. Skt. √*ligh,* √*lik.* Gk. λείχω; French *lêcher.* The primary syllable is formed to imitate the sound of drawing in a liquid on the tongue with an inhalation, the *g* in the Latin form representing the earlier aspirate. [ligurrio (ligurio), **ligurritio, ligurritor, ligurius, linctor, linctus (noun), delingo, cunnilingus.] In Low Latin are found the additional forms *lecax* (whence the Provençal *lecaitz*), *lecacitas, lecator.* The Old Latin *dingua* probably took on its later form *lingua* from the influence of *lingo,* though having no etymological connection with it.

lĭpio, lŭpio. To make the sound of the *milvus.* *Carm. de Philom.* 24.

***ma.** The natural sound made by infants asking for the breast. Cf. BU, and see Varro *ap.* Non. 81. 4. In Latin it is not found in the simple form, unless the passage in Petron. 57, *nec mu nec ma,* be a case in point (cf. MU), but occurs in Greek (μᾶ for μήτηρ in Æsch. *Suppl.* 890, 899) and in most languages, though oftener, as in Latin, reduplicated. Gk. μάμμα, μαμμάια (Eust. 971. 36), μάμμη; of the breast in Arrian Epict. ii. 16. 43 (Schweigh.);

cf. μαμμᾶν αἰτεῖν in Aristoph. *Nub.* 1383, and also μαῖα. [mamilla, mamillanus, mamillare, mamillaris, mamma, Mammaea, mammalis, mammatus, **mammeatus, mammicula, mammo, mammosus, mammula, Mammula.]

It is reasonable to assign **mater** to the same source rather than to the √*mā*, "to measure" or "make," which Bréal practically rejects (*Dict. Etymolog.* s.v. *mater*), and which even Whitney regards as purely conjectural. Skeat inconsistently assigns *pater* to the natural sound *pa* with the suffix of the agent *-ter* (*tar*), while refusing to explain *mater* in the same way, — possibly because the suffix in the latter would have no special appropriateness to the feminine. But, as Bréal points out, the suffix *-tar* may have been added to the base by the influence of analogy, or may antedate the restriction of the gender to the feminine. Cf. ATTA.

miccio. To bleat. *Carm. de Philom.* 58. The reading is doubtful, and I have adopted that of Bährens on the authority of a single MS. Wernsdorf reads *mutire* (cf. MU), but *miccio* is the form occurring in Sueton. *Reliq.* p. 249, Reifferscheid, and in the thesaurus of Mai, *Auct. Class.* viii. p. 77 foll.

mintrio. To squeak (of the mouse). *Carm. de Philom.* 61.

minurrio. To coo. Spart. *Geta.* 5. A fine onomatopœia, giving the peculiar purring sound made by the dove, which is lacking in the modern English *coo*, but is found in the Gm. *gurren*, the French *roucouler*, and the earlier English form *croo* (Kersey, *Eng. Dict.* 1715).

mītīlo. See RURIRULO.

mu (1). A slight, inarticulate sound made with the lips and teeth closed, or nearly so; mum; mutter; μῦ. Cf. the proverbial expression in Latin of a dummy, *nec mu nec ma argutas* (Petron. 57, with the passages cited by Friedländer *ad loc.*). [murmur, murmurabundus, murmurratio, murmurator, murmurillo, **murmurillum, murmuriosus, murmuro, (μορμύρω, Skt. *marmara*), mussatio, mussitabundus, mussitatio, mussitator, mussito, musso (μυάω), **mussor, mutesco, mutio (muttio), mutitas, mutitatio, mutitio, muttum, mutus, admurmuratio, admurmuro, **admurmuror, **commurmuratio, commurmuro, demurmuro, demussatus, demutio, immurmuro, obmurmuratio, obmurmuro, obmussito, obmusso, obmutesco, remurmuratio, remurmuro, summurmuro, summussi.]

It is probably from *mu* that we are to explain the obscure word ***mufrius* in Petron. 58, — *mufrius non magister*, — "one who can't even say *mu*" (see above), "boo to a goose." See Bücheler, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, xxxix. 425–427 (1884), where he compares it with μῦθος, μυθητής, etc. *mufrius* is then exactly rendered by the English *muff*, from the provincial English *muffle*, "to mumble" (Halliwell); and cf. with Skeat, *maffle*.

***mu** (2) fully pronounced. A moo. Implied in the following: [mugilo, mugio, Mugio, Mugionia (*portu, a mugitu*, Varro, *L. L.* v. 164, Müller), mugitor, mugitus, admugio, demugitus, emugio, immugio, remugio.]

Here, perhaps, belongs *mulus*, on which, however, see G. Meyer in Brugmann's *Indogermanische Forschungen*, i. p. 319, where the word is explained as *muslo*, with *lo* the diminutive suffix, making the whole an appellative, "the Mysian animal," on the strength of a passage from Anacreon.

oce (?). A bird mentioned by Pliny, *H. N.* xi. 47.

onco. To bray. *Carm. de Philom.* 55. Cf. the Gk. ὀγκάομαι, ὄγκημα; and UNCO.

ŏvo. To cry "O!" to exult. *αὔω, *ἀϝύω.* One of the numerous words formed on an onomatopoetic base, imitative of the expulsion of the breath. [ovatio.] Cf. VENTUS.

pa. A natural sound made by infants, and denoting a desire for food. (See Varro *ap.* Non. 81. 4: *cum cibum ac potinem buas ac papas vocent.*) It is developed in many languages, and applied to the father, just as the natural sound *ma* is applied to the mother. Festus, p. 205, Müller: *pa pro patre.* See MA. Gk. *πᾶ* (*πᾶς*, Eust. 565. 17; cf. Liddell and Scott s.v. *πάππας*), but, as in Latin, usually found in its reduplicated form, *πάπας* (*παπᾶς*), *C. I. G.* 2664, *πάππας*, etc. [papa (pappa), Papa, paparium, papas, Papius, pappo (papo), pappus, pater (*pa* + the suffix of the agent *-tar*), Patercularius, Paterculus, paternitas, paternus, patraster, patriciatus, Patriciensis, patriciolus, patricius, patricus, patrimes, patrimonialis, patrimoniolum, patrimonium, patrimus, patritus, patrius, patrocinalis, patrocinium, patrocinor, Patron, patrona, patronalis, patronatus, patronus, patruelis, patruus, patruus (adj.), parricida (?), **parricidatus (?), parricidalis (?), parricidialis (?), parricidialiter (?), parricidium (?), patripassiani, Diespiter, Iupiter, Marspiter (Maspiter), Opiter (*ob* + *pater* or *avus* + *pater*), Opiterginus, Opitergium.] Cf. MA; TATA.

Here, probably, belong **pasco** and its numerous derivatives.

pīpo. To peep (of birds). Varro *ap.* Non. 156. 25. Gk. *πιππίζω* (*πιπίζω*). [pipatio, pipatus, pipilo, pipio (verb), pipio (noun), pipito (Suet. *Reliq.* p. 249), piplo (al. plipio, *Poet. Lat. Min.* v. p. 367), pipulum (pipulus).]

pĭsĭto. To utter the cry of the starling (*sturnus*). Bährens (*Carm. de Philom.* 17) reads *pusito.*

pĭtŭĭta. See SPUO.

plīpio. See PIPO.

pulpo. To make the sound of the vulture. Suet. *Reliq.* p. 251.

pūpillo, paupŭlo. To utter the cry of the peacock (*pavo*). *Carm. de Philom.* 26.

pytisso. See SPUO.

quaxo, coaxo. To croak (of frogs). Fest. p. 258, Müller; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 94. Possibly a direct derivation from the famous *κοάξ* of Aristophanes (*Ran.* 209, etc.), though it may be an independent Latin formation, as the first spelling would imply. French *coasser, croasser.*

quirrĭto. To queek (of swine). *Carm. de Philom.* 55. Represented in Greek by *κοΐ* (Aristoph. *Acharn.* 780) and *κοτζω* (*id.* 746), and in German by *quäken.*

racco, ranco. To utter the sound of the tiger. *Carm. de Philom.* 49.

rāna (**racna**). A frog. Cf. *racco* and the German *röcheln.* [ranula, ranunculus.]

ranco. See RACCO.

raucus. Hoarse, croaky. French *rauque.* Cf. RACCO, RUGIO. [raucedo, raucesco, **raucidulus, **raucio, raucisonus, raucitas, ravio, ravis (regarded by Bréal and Bailly as the earliest form existing, *Dict. Etymologique*), **ravulus, ravus, irraucesco, subraucus.]

rŭgio. To roar. Spart. *Geta.* 5. *ἐρεύγω, ὠρύω, ὠρυγή* (Curt. i. 222); and cf. RAUCUS. [ructamen, ructatio, ructatrix, ructatus, ructo (ructor), ructuo,

**ructuosus, ructus, **ruditus, rudo, rudor, ruma, rumen (*rugmen), rumifico, rumigeratio, rumigeror, rumigerulus, rumigo, Rumina, **ruminalis, ruminatio, ruminator, rumina (rumino), Ruminus, rumis **rumito, rumo, rumor, rumusculus, **adrumo, eructatio, eructo, erugo, **irructo, irrugio, **obructans, subrumo, subrumus.]

rūmor. See RUGIO; RAUCUS.

****rūrīrŭlo.** To utter the sound of the *acredula*. *Carm. de Philom.* 16. So Bährens, where for *rurirulans* others read *tunc mitilans* and *tunc trutilans*. Cf. TRUCILO.

sclingo. To make the sound of geese. Suet. *Reliq.* p. 249.

****screo.** To hawk. French *cracher*. Cf. the Gk. *κόρυζα*, a catarrh, and the very expressive *χρέμπτομαι*. Plaut. *Curcul.* i. 2. 22. [screator, screatus.]

sībĭlus (sīfilus). A hiss. French *sifflet*. The derivation given in Lewis and Short, *s. h. v.*, connecting this word with the Gm. *Sieb*, and comparing the latter with the root of A.S. *sipan*, is wholly untenable. [sibilatio (sifilutio), **sibilatrix, sibilo (sifilo, Non. 531. 2), sibilus (adj.), assibilo, exsibilo, obsibilo, **resibilo.]

spuo. To spit, spew. Skt. *shtiv;* Gk. *πτύω*; Gm. *speien, spützen, spucken.* [pituita, pituitaria, pituitosus, spuma, **spumābundus, spumatio, **spumatus, **spumesco, spumeus, spumidus, **spumigens, spurus, spumosus, sputamen, sputamentum, spututilicus, **sputator, sputo, sputum, sputus, spumifer, spumiger, **aspuo, conspuo, consputo, despuo, **desputamentum, desputum, **exspuitio, **exspumo, exspuo, inspuo, insputo.] *pytisso, pytisma*, as their forms show, are borrowed from the Greek.

Fick disputes the connection of **spuma** and its derivatives with *spuo*, assigning them to the base of the Skt. *sphāy*, "to swell"; but in this he is not generally followed.

sternuo. To sneeze. The onomatopoetic origin is almost wholly obscured in the existing Latin forms, but is well preserved in the cognate Greek *πτάρνυσθαι*. Cf. Curt. *Gr. Etym.* p. 696. [sternumentum, sternutamentum, sternutatio, sternuto.]

sterto. To snore. Regarded by Skeat as imitative in its origin. [**desterto.]

***stĭco.** Implied in the compound **destĭco**, "to squeak." *Carm. de Philom.* 62.

****stloppus.** A slap; "plop." Sound made by striking the cheeks when inflated with air. Pers. v. 13, where Jahn reads *scloppus*.

strĕpo. To rattle, clatter. [strepito, strepitus, astrepo, circumstrepo, constrepo, instrepito, instrepo, interstrepo, obstreperus, obstrepitaculum, obstrepito, obstrepo, perstrepo, **substrepo.]

strīdeo, strīdo. To whiz, whistle, creak. = **στριζω, τριζω*. Cf. STERTO; TRISSO. [strix, stridulus, turda, turdela, turdarium, turdus (this last the English thrush, throstle; Gm. *Drossel;* O.H.G. *Throscela;* cf. *drosca* in the *Carm. de Philom.* 11), **circumstrideo, perstrido, **substrido.]

sūgo. To suck. Gm. *saugen* = *ῥοφέω*. [sucido, sucidus, sucinacius, **sucineus, sucinum (amber), sucinus, suco, sucositas, sucosus, suctus (noun), suculentus, sucus, **assugo, desugo, exsucidus, exsuco, exsucus, exsugo, sanguisuga.]

sŭsurrus A whisper; indistinct buzzing. French *chuchoter*. Onomatopoetic

reduplication. [susurramen, susurratino, susurratio, susurrator, susurratrix, susurro, susurro (noun), **susurrus (adj.), insusurratio, insusurro.]

**tărătantăra. Word imitative of the blast of a trumpet. Ennius, *Ann.* 452 (Vahlen).

tăta. Daddy. An infantile word. Varro *ap.* Non. 81. 5. In Mart. i. 101. 1, apparently mammy. Cf. Skt. *tâtas;* Gk. *τέττα* (*τάτα, ἄττα, τίτθη*, etc.); Ital. *tetta* (*zitta, cizza*); Spanish *teta;* French *tette;* Sardin. *dida;* Old High German *deddi;* Old Dutch *titte;* Gm. *tütte* (*zitze*); Eng. *teat; titty.*

**tax-tax. Word imitative of the whacks of a whip. Cf. Eng. *thwack* and French *flic-flac.* Plaut. *Pers.* ii. 3. 12, where Ritschl reads *tux-tax.*

tetrăo. The moor-fowl. Skt. *tittinis;* Gk. *τετράων.* Cf. Aristoph. *Aves,* 267. [tetrinno.]

tinnio. To tinkle; ting-ting; "to *ting* as a bel" Cotgrave (1660). French *tintin; tinton; tinter;* Old Dutch *tintelen.* The suspension of Grimm's law shows the purely onomatopoetic character of the word. [**tinnimentum, tinnito, (tinnipo ?), tinnitus, tinnulus, **tintinnabulatus, tintinnabulum, **tintinnaculus, tintinnio, tintinno, **tintinnum, tintino, **fintinnio (Suet. *Reliq.* Reiff. p. 253), **obtinnio, retinnio, **subtinnio.] Cf. FRITINNIO.

Probably tono and its immediate derivatives are to be assigned to the same imitative origin. See Skeat s.v. "tinker."

tĭtio. To twitter (of the sparrow). *Carm. de Philom.* 30. Cf. *τι τι τι τι* in Aristoph. *Aves,* 315 (Bergk), and the Gk. *τιτίζω, τιτίς.*

trisso. To twitter. *Carm. de Philom.* 26. Gk. *τρίζω.* [tetrissito (Suet. *Reliq.* Reiff. p. 251).] Cf. STRIDEO.

trŭcĭlo. To make the sound of the *turdus.* Suet. *Reliq.* Reiff. p. 254.

turdus. See STRIDEO.

turtur. The turtle-dove. Onomatopoetic reduplication of the syllable *tur,* imitative of cooing. See MINURRIO, and cf. the Dutch *kirren,* Gm. *gurren.* [**turturilla.]

tussis. A cough. [tussedo, tussicula, tussicularis, tussiculosus, tussicus, tussio, extussio, **subtussio.]

tūtu. A hoot (of the owl). Plaut. *Menœch.* 654. [tūtŭbo.] Onomatopoetic reduplication of the primary **tu.* Cf. the Old French *hu;* Eng. *hue* ("hue and cry"); and cf. Diez s.v. *hu.*

tux-tax. See TAX-TAX.

ŭlŭla. The owl. Skt. *ulúka;* O.H.G. *ûla;* Gm. *Eule.* [ululabilis, **ululamen, ululatio, ululatus (noun), ululo (*ὐλάω*), exululo.]

unco. To grunt (of a bear). *Carm. de Philom.* 51.

upŭpa. The hoopoe. Gk. *ἔποψ*; French *hibou;* and cf. BUBO, supra.

urco. To make the sound of the lynx. Suet. *Reliq.* Reiff. p. 248.

vah, vaha. A waul. The sound of displeasure. Cf. Gk. *οὐά, οὐᾶ.* [vāga, vāgio (of the wail of infants, Varro *ap.* Gell. xvi. 17. 2), vāgitus, **obvāgio, obvāgulatim, obvāgulo.]

vava, vavatio. See BABA.

ventus. Wind. Skt. *vātas;* Gk. *ἀήτης, ἄω, ἄημι, ἄημα, ἀήρ* (*ἀϝήτης*, etc.). Basal syllable *αϝ*, va, denoting the expulsion of the breath. [vanno, vannus, ventilabrum, **ventilabundus (doubtful), ventilatio, ventilator,

ventilo, ventositas, ventosus, ventulus, ver (see F. W. Walker in the *Classical Review*, v. p. 10, 1889), **verculum, vernalis, vernatio, verno, vernus, ventigenus, **vernicomus, **vernifer, vernisera, praevernat (impersonal).]

aër, cognate with *ventus*, is borrowed from the Greek, as the form of the accusative singular (*aëra*) plainly shows; and so probably is **aura**.

zinzăla. A gnat, mosquito, from its *zzz*. Ital. *zenzára*, *zanzára;* Sp. *zenzalo;* O.H.G. *zinzila;* and the Ptg. verb *zinir zunir*, "to hum." [zinzio, zinzito (*Carm. de Philom.* 13), zinzilulo (*id.* 43, where others read the more truly onomatopoetic zinzinulo).] Cf. SIBILUS; SUSURRUS.

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Notes on the Vedic Deity Pūṣan.

It was long ago seen that in the collections known as the Vedic literature we have great anthologies culled from a literature of vast extent, covering a period of many hundreds of years. Concerning the dates to be set for this period, I believe that Jacobi's (and Tilak's) bold and ingenious theory (*Festgruss an Rudolph von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893; pp. 68 ff.), according to which the collection must be put between 3500 and 2500 B.C., will not be able to maintain itself, and that little if any of the Vedic literature can be placed at a date earlier than 1500 B.C. But however that may be, the following points seem to me to have been established with reasonable certainty: The Veda, even in its very earliest parts, is specifically Indian, the Indo-European features being scanty in the extreme, and then mere reminiscences; the character of the hymns is almost exclusively sacerdotal, implying a very complicated ritual, and the hymns themselves were composed, with rare exceptions, for ritual purposes, though Bergaigne's theory of the "family books" as composed entirely for the Soma-ritual seems to me unproved; the state of society which they represent is far removed from a primitive or nomadic condition of life, being much rather the luxurious and corrupt civilization of a people long settled in fixed abodes; and the mythological conceptions which they embody are those of several well-marked periods of development. Of the mythological inheritances from an earlier time, some, like Dyāus, have faded almost beyond our view, remaining as mere memories; others, like Varuṇa and Indra and Agni, have been transformed on Indian soil until nothing but the name remains. By the side of these spring up new deities, outgrowths of specifically Indian beliefs, some based on ritual practices, and others on traditions of earlier princes and heroes. In the course of time, with the spread of the Aryan invaders over a vast extent of country, and with their minute tribal divisions, the Vedic mythology assumes a kaleidoscopic variety which has proved at once the charm and the despair of Indianists. The confusion, not always unintentional, between the cloud and the mountain, which

we find so often in Vedic hymns and legends, and which certainly dates from the sojourn of the Vedic peoples in the high altitudes where, under certain conditions of atmosphere, snow-mountain and cloud are hardly to be distinguished from each other, well typifies the shifting and elusive nature of much of the Vedic mythology. The poets, who were sacerdotal and mystic to the last degree, and looked to the favour and bounty of the Yajamānas as their reward, had no desire to make themselves intelligible to the people at large; they were professional poets, practising a sacred, a lucrative, and a jealously guarded art. The rules of the Meistersänger were probably not more complicated than those of many a school of Vedic bards.

Among the tasks which confront the modern interpreter of the *Veda*, one of the most difficult is the explanation of the minor deities. While we are entirely justified in saying that back of the personality of Varuṇa there lies the conception of the all-encompassing sky; back of that of Indra the conception of the storm, perhaps specifically of the monsoon; back of that of Viṣṇu the conception of the sun — however completely all these may have been worked over, there are some deities whose explanation as originally human beings, magnified by legend into divinities, is at least as probable as any other. Again, we may find several different deities evidently representing the same natural phenomenon. The tribal theory is here the most probable, by which we suppose that the different conceptions were worked out independently in different localities, reaching in each case a considerable degree of completeness before the schematizing of later days sought to bring them into relation with one another.

One of these minor deities, and in some ways one of the most interesting, is Pūṣan. Of the 1028 hymns of the *Rig-Veda* eight (none of great length) are addressed to him alone, one to Indra and Pūṣan together, and one to Soma and Pūṣan. His name is mentioned considerably over a hundred times in the *Rig-Veda*, besides in these hymns, and occasionally in the other Vedic books, and there are some few references to him in passages which at first sight seem to deal with other divinities. Of the ten hymns addressed to him, either alone or with Indra or Soma, six are found in the sixth or Bhāradvāja-book of the *Rig-Veda*, two in the first, one in the second, and one in the tenth; the third, fourth, fifth, seventh, and eighth books are thus without any specific Pūṣan-hymns. There is, however, no book of the *Rig-Veda* in which he is not mentioned. Apart from the hymns devoted to him, his

name occurs oftenest in those addressed to the Viçve Devās, or gods collectively, and in connection with Indra or Bhaga. If we may trust the Anukramaṇī, therefore, the Bhāradvāja-clan seems to have been most devoted to Pūṣan; and next to them comes the clan of the Kāṇvas, the entire hymn *Rig-Veda* i. 42 being ascribed to Kaṇva Ghāura, and some half-dozen verses of Book i., with an equal number in Book viii. (the Kāṇva-book), to other members of that clan. It is accordingly not an unwarrantable supposition — though I admit the lack of cogent proof — that from these two clans his cult spread among the other tribes. In the later Vedic and post-Vedic periods mention of him becomes increasingly rare.

What, now, are the characteristics of this deity? The greater number of verses wherein he is mentioned are glorifications of his bounteous gifts to his worshippers, with prayers for a repetition of them. Of such verses, which tell us practically nothing concerning the earliest conception of Pūṣan, numerous examples are given by Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, v. 172 f. Much more significant are those verses which recount his beneficence toward the husbandman or the herdsman. In *R. V.* iv. 57, which is a prayer for the fruitfulness of the field, the *kṣetrasya patiḥ*, or "lord of the field" (explained by Sāyaṇa as Rudra or Agni, but much more likely to be Pūṣan), is besought to watch over the field and the crop; the oxen, the ploughman, the plough, even the harness are blessed; Çuna and Sīra, apparently two beneficent spirits (perhaps, with the *Pet. Dict.*, the ploughshare and the frame of the plough), are besought to help; the furrow itself is apostrophized; and finally Indra and Pūṣan are addressed as follows (v. 7): "May Indra sink the furrow, Pūṣan direct it aright; may it stream forth richness for us over and over again." Pūṣan is especially the protector of cattle, the recoverer of those that are lost, the giver of fruitfulness in the flocks. He drives with goats, and carries a goad. A curious epithet applied to him is *karambhād*, "eater of porridge." He is called *karūḍatin* in *R. V.* iv. 30, 24, which the commentators explain as "broken-toothed"; the word is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, and of obscure etymology, Grassmann's derivation (*kar* = *çar*, and *dat*) being entirely unsatisfactory. Evidently Pūṣan was originally the countryman's deity, somewhat as were Pan and Faunus. Another step in the recognition of his nature is gained from passages in which he appears as ruler over roads, as best guide to travellers and wanderers, and discoverer of that which is lost. In the capacity of guide he is called upon at the wedding ceremony to lead away the bride by

the hand, and as a giver of faithfulness to bestow fertility upon her. He is called *āghṛṇi*, "glowing." All these indications point to Pūṣan as a personification of the sun, as was long ago recognized, particularly a pastoral personification. His knowledge of all paths, of all things hidden, is due to his daily journey over the apparently trackless heaven, and to his looking down thence upon the earth, and it is a natural consequence of this conception that he is called upon, like another solar deity, Savitar, to conduct the soul of the dead to its last abode.

Besides Pūṣan and Savitar, Viṣṇu and Sūrya are also personifications of the sun; and the sun is sometimes thought of as one form of Agni, god of fire. Agni, made the especial pet of the priests, assumes, as the god of the sacrifice, an importance hardly if at all inferior to that of mighty Indra himself, and Viṣṇu and Savitar attain to great honour; while Pūṣan, of humbler antecedents, held in particular honour by the rural and agricultural population as opposed to the princely clans, receives only a subordinate place in the estimation of the Rishis, those court-poets and fawners upon the great. He is called upon for wealth and blessings of all sorts, and for protection, as are deities of originally very various spheres, and particularly in connection with Indra, the bestower and protector *par excellence*.

The more or less complete identification of Pūṣan with Soma, maintained with great learning and acuteness by the lamented Bergaigne (*Religion Védique*, ii. 420 ff.), as an essential part of the conception of Pūṣan, is to my mind untenable. I cannot see any other necessary ground for this connection than the similarity in the secondary conceptions of both deities as bestowers of blessings. Soma is plainly enough, from the earliest times, traceable in the *Rig-Veda*, a mystical identification of the milky-white juice of the much-used plant with the moon — an identification probably starting from the appearance of a vessel of Soma in the bright moonlight — while Pūṣan is the sun. More significant are his relations to Sūrya, especially in the legend of Sūrya's marriage to the Açvins, which has been so ably discussed by Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, i. 11–52. Here is doubtless a real myth — the result, I think, of the meeting of different streams of legend, in one of which Pūṣan, in the other Sūrya, plays the chief *rôle*.

The writer hopes to be able, in the near future, to elaborate some of these points in detail, along with other phases of Pūṣan's character not touched upon here.

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MEDUSA (?) LUDOVISI.

The So-called Medusa Ludovisi.

A STUDY of the Gorgon myths, their origin, their introduction into the literature of the Greeks, and their expression in art, points to the very gradual evolution of the Medusa from its primitive hideousness to its more impressive later forms. The monstrosities of its earliest stages betray the barbaric, non-Greek origin of the belief; the later forms reveal the tendency of the Greek soul to infuse into conceptions that are originally repulsive the element of nobility, of solemn grandeur. From the ghastly caricature of the Rhodian vases with protruding tongue and prominent boars' tusks, to the beautiful but icy stare of the Medusa Rondanini, and to the agonized, snake-encircled Medusa of a late cameo, there runs consistently through the varying gamut of artistic expression the suggestion of implacable paralyzing terror. Throughout this long series of art efforts a permanence of the art type is maintained; a conservatism that is very manifest in Greek art, and that never precludes a sane advance; whether ugly or beautiful, the Medusa-head betrays at every stage the attributes which stamp it as an ἀποτρόπαιον. When the rolling eye, the tusks, and the projecting tongue disappear as characteristics, then the snakes and wings that first appear in some early gems become the available adjuncts of the more beautiful later types; without forcing themselves painfully upon the eye of the observer, they are present as the exponents of the Medusa. To this long series Professor H. Brunn, of Munich,[1] together with Dilthey,[2] Conze,[3] and other archæologists, appends as the final development of the Medusa type the beautiful relief from the Villa Ludovisi, a head as remarkable in the unusual boldness of its relief (.23 m. from the background) as it is singular in its beauty and its pathos (Plate I). Few heads preserved from ancient times

[1] *Verh., der philol. Vers.*, Dessau, 1884.
[2] *Annal. Instit.*, 1871, pp. 212–238; tavv. S, T.
[3] *Heroen- und Göttergestalten*, Taf. xxix.

equal it in the united elements of strength and beauty. Owing to the relative inaccessibility of the Ludovisi collection, and the scant opportunity formerly afforded for repeated examination, a great diversity of opinions has resulted in regard to it; some archæologists, like Grimm, would make the head the work of the sixteenth century; others, like Braun, considered it part of a relief group, which is for many reasons impossible; Dilthey was the first to claim its kinship with all the rest of the Gorgoneia; he found in this head certain ancient traits of the Medusa ideal, the unusually broad cheeks, the haughty cynical line of the lips, and he explains the absence of all other Medusa characteristics, like the cold staring eye, the wings, the snakes, by the assumption that this relief, like many of the Hellenistic age, was strongly influenced by the paintings of the period and was primarily intended to exercise a decorative effect; hence it would discard many of the features of an antiquated barbaric conception. The foundation for this novel treatment he finds in a great original painting of the early Hellenistic age, possibly in that of Timomachus, whose successful rendering of the Medusa Pliny records. A corroboration of Dilthey's view Brunn offered; avoiding all archæological learning, he argues from the purely psychological standpoint. The artist, he contends, has penetrated to the core of the Medusa conception, and has freed himself from the shackles of tradition; the deep significance of his Medusa type lies in the complete absence of soul, an absence rendered all the more terrible by the contrast with the perfection of physical beauty; in the Ludovisi head there is not a trace from which a spiritual struggle or impulse might be inferred, not on the forehead, not in the lines of the mouth and chin. And even as in life the absence of soul repels us from a creature of perfect beauty, so we stand before this Medusa head in admiration of its beauty, but dumfounded. Its lack of soul, he says, would chill us even to the marrow, if the artist had not introduced a saving doubt in the eyes; he has closed those portals to the soul in sleep. Were these eyes to open, to show the vacant, soulless stare, corresponding to the impassive lines of the countenance, we should be paralyzed, and the old demoniac type would reassert its sway under a new guise; but this void would be but the absence of consciousness, and the artist may have aimed to soften the effect of the head by the suspense in which he leaves us.

The student of Brunn's words will bear in mind that the Medusa conception must have undergone a complete transformation if this

be the meaning of the art work; the distinguishing element of the Gorgoneion, whether hideous or beautiful, had always been the presentation of a head calculated to inspire terror; fiercely aggressive in the masks of the earlier ages, it was no less terrible in the immobile and relentless coldness of later reliefs. All ancient literature and the unbroken tradition of the plastic art coincide in this; and it is worthy of note that especially in the case of the beautiful type, its weird character is preserved in the wildly tangled locks and the intertwined snakes. Dilthey, conscious of the consistency of sculptural tradition in this respect, has denied the complete absence of these significant features and has found in the dishevelled locks a reminiscence of the snakes; in fact, it almost seems as though these disordered locks encircling the beautiful face had been the starting-point of his theory. Neither he, however, nor Brunn seems to have noted that in sculpture, from the very earliest period, the Medusa visage is always presented *en face;* the evidence on this point is overwhelming. With the suggestion of profound sleep Brunn introduces a new phase for which, too, it will be quite impossible to find authority.

Brunn's interpretation has been rejected by several leading authorities. The designation of the head as that of a dying Medusa was abandoned by Friederichs in his catalogue of the Berlin casts,[1] by Mrs. Lucy Mitchell (*History of Ancient Sculpture*[2]), and by Furtwängler (in Roscher's *Lexikon Myth.*[3]). They severally deny that the art work was at the time of its creation a relief, and if this be true, the Medusa theory at once disappears, for it is only as a relief mask that the ἀποτρόπαιον can be supposed effective. In the hope of reaching some more definite result, the accurate description of the original was examined which Professor Schreiber gave in his account of the Ludovisi collection.[4] It there appears that the oval disk from which the relief is projected is modern; a modern restoration, too, appears in part of the neck and the breast, in the extremities of the locks that fall upon the neck, and in the entire lock that issues forth from beneath the left side of the chin. The head is attached to the disk by an inferior quality of plaster which crumbles readily under examination. Nevertheless it is clear that the left side of the face was never intended to be seen in its entirety. My own belief is that the head when found had already

[1] *Gipsabgüsse*, pp. 531, 532.
[2] p. 618.
[3] i. p. 1725.
[4] *Die Antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi*, pp. 131, 132.

received severe injuries on the left side, and that to prevent further inroads it was hurriedly cemented to a marble disk; it is more than probable from the analogy of similar procedure during the Renaissance that in order to effect this union, slight irregularities of surface on the left side were unhesitatingly smoothed away. At all events, unless the face itself betray unmistakably the Medusa type (and that not even Brunn asserts), every other indication fails us; the mask character secured by the projection from a flat background is modern, as well as the snake-like locks and the form of the breast, which has simply been shaped to complete the conception of a bust in relief. The three authorities just mentioned unite, therefore, in the assumption that we possess in this work a fragment of a larger work, a female statue of heroic proportions, recumbent so that the left side of the face is not entirely visible. It is the pathos of an heroic death and not the unconsciousness of sleep that is stamped on the countenance; there exists probably, says Friederichs, no work of ancient art in which the agony of death is delineated with such masterly power. With the slightest possible means the intensity of the death struggle is indicated; a careful examination of the cast shows that the left eye is firmly closed, while the upper lid of the right eye is drawn upward so that a ray of light might still affect the eyeball.

A comparison of the treatment of this head with the sculpture of the school of Pergamum (the great frieze, the group of the Galatian warrior and his dying wife, and kindred works) justifies the inference that the work under discussion is the product of that Hellenistic period whose artists aimed at the subtlest analysis of the passions that dominate the human soul. Beyond this point our guides diverge in opinion; Furtwängler assumes, without vouchsafing any reason, that it is the head of a heroine from some tragic group; Mrs. Mitchell, who is quite as profoundly impressed by the tragic character of the expression, refrains from stating whether she considers it the remnant of a single figure or the sole survival of a group of figures, and Friederichs-Wolters, who disproves effectually the possibility of its connection with any kind of relief, concludes his criticism with the words: "It is quite as impossible to state whether the statue was isolated or part of a group, as it is to conjecture at the present day what its original significance was."

We may find reason in the course of this paper to show that the prospect of identification is not quite as hopeless as is here assumed; once before, as Schneider in his accurate account of the Ludovisi

head records, a name other than that of Medusa was assigned to it; in the year 1693, Rossini[1] designates the head as that of Olympias, queen of Macedon, and the same name clings to it even as late as 1804.[2] It is of course impossible that it be that wonderful woman, mother of Alexander the Great, whose phantasies and Bacchic outbursts of passion the historians so fully relate. Modern archæologists have fully determined the traits by which portraiture may be recognized in works of Greek sculpture, and we may reject for this unmistakably ideal head the name of a historical personage. The only value attaching to the name "Olympias" may lie in this, that it corroborates what internal evidence conclusively demonstrates, the creation of this work in the Hellenistic period. And it is to the earlier rather than to the later forms of Hellenistic art that our head belongs; for though it is intense with the pathos of a vigorous female life, nipped in its bloom by a sudden and violent death, yet there is still maintained in considerable degree that tone of lofty idealism which is foreign to the later Hellenistic age. The artist may have had one specific character in mind, but as he portrays her she symbolizes the type of a noble and heroic womanhood that succumbs to the decree of fate; the fate of the individual becomes representative of the underlying general humanity.

The conviction had gradually taken possession of me that the distinguishing features of this work of art lay neither in the magnificent head with its wealth of locks, nor in the massive side view of the face, from both of which most of its interpreters had striven to define it, but solely in the eyes: this opinion was confirmed, when the head was transferred from its usual vertical position to a horizontal one. In doing this, use was made of a statement in Brunn's description, which seems exceedingly valuable, but which he does not at all urge, because it would be out of harmony with his Medusa theory. "There is an indication," he says, "of the left shoulder, showing that we are to conceive the head inclined upon it, as in fact we readily can conceive it." In the new position, the prominence of the skull, which is otherwise so marked, at once disappeared, and the attention was held solely by the closed eyes and the mystery that they seemed to enshroud.

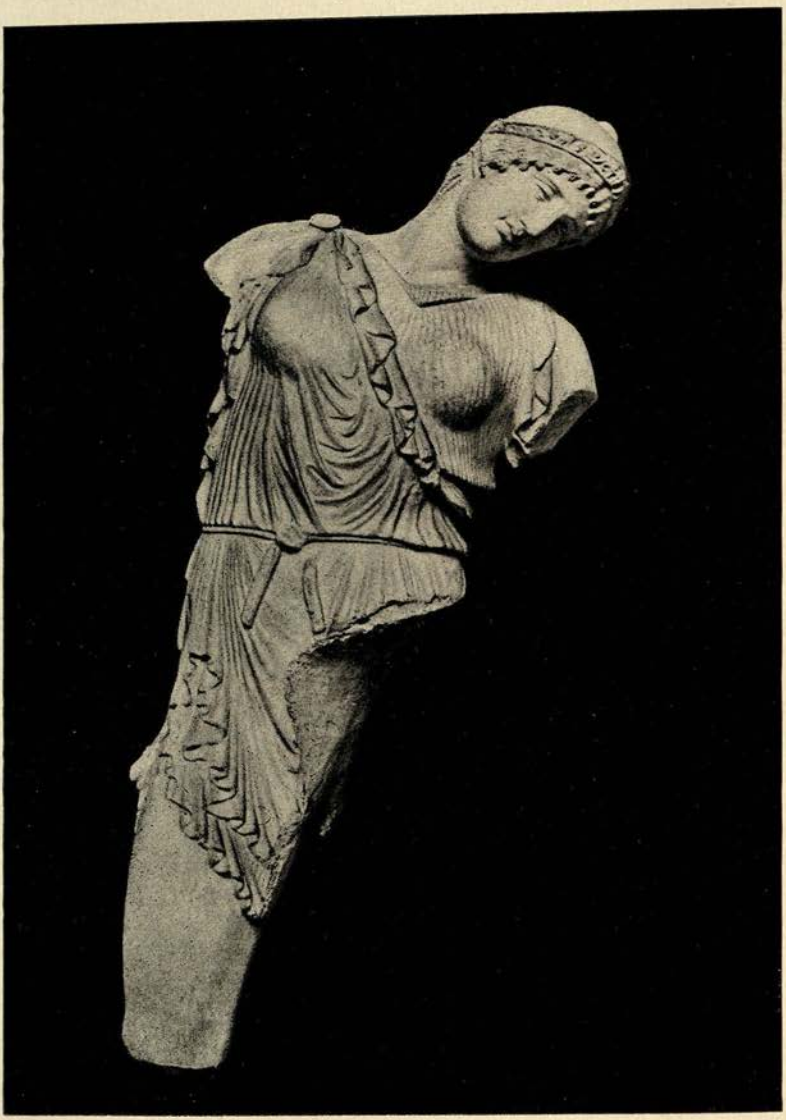
Here, then, there presented itself the analogy of another beautiful work, older by several centuries, and yet, despite the great interval, strongly similar to this in the expression of the eyes, the frag-

[1] Erw. Rossini, *Mercurio errante*, Roma, 1693.
[2] Vasi, *Itinerario di Roma*, 1804.

mentary statue of an Amazon in Vienna, which is generally accepted as a Penthesilea (von Sacken, *Die Skulpturen des Münz-u. Antiken-kabinets zu Wien*, Taf. .i).[1] In its way, this work, too, has excited considerable attention, because it unites the evidences of an archaic practice with great truthfulness of expression in its most vital part, —the countenance. The conventional treatment of the robe with its regular folds, and of the spiral curls, speaks distinctly of the early art development that preceded Phidias; von Sacken, who has furnished the closest description of it, finds, however, naught of the hardness of earlier art in the graceful lines of the body and in the expressive features. Far removed from the complacent expression of archaic statues, the face of the Amazon is most touching, wonderfully pathetic in its intensity of expression, truthful and passionate, without the sacrifice of nobility and idealism. The very shadow of death seems to be creeping over the eyes whose fire is extinct; the eyelids wearily close, and eyebrows as well as forehead show the pressure of physical pain; but there is a noble moderation in the mouth, nose, and chin, that speaks of a grand soul, a vigorous nature, that controls the expression of intense physical suffering. Allowing for the important fact that the ripe art development of a later stage was able to supplement by various delicate touches that union of physical collapse and mental resistance which the older art expresses in most direct language, there presented themselves so many points of analogy between the Medusa head and the Vienna statue, that it did not seem to me unreasonable to assign to the former also the name "Penthesilea." With our insufficient data this identification cannot be absolutely demonstrated, but it seems possible to establish a sufficient number of points in its support to make it at least highly probable. It must be premised, however, that the two heads indicate different stages in the progress of physical dissolution; our so-called Medusa head marks a period, later by several stages, in the tragedy of Death. Reference to the literary tradition that is connected with the Penthesilea episode may serve to indicate the exact place of the two.

The archaic torso of Vienna presents an Amazon, different in the source of its literary inspiration from the well-known Amazonian types, — the Amazon of the Vatican, that of the Capitoline, of the

[1] See PLATE II., which is based on a photograph that Dr. Paul Herrmann of the Museum Albertinum, Dresden, recently took and courteously placed at the writer's disposal; its superiority over the current reproductions is patent.



AMAZON-TORSO OF VIENNA.

Louvre, of Wörlitz, of Lansdowne, etc. Whereas all of these reflect the influence of the older Attic legends, in which Hercules and Theseus conjointly, or Theseus alone is involved in the contest with the Amazons, and finally triumphs over them, the Vienna statue is undoubtedly inspired by that other epic treatment of the Amazon myth, the arrival of the Amazons before Troy to succour the city in its waning fortunes. The evidence on this point may be briefly summarized. The Amazon is about to swoon, mortally wounded; she is represented in that peculiarly transitory condition in which the initial stage of her fall is indicated. Our knowledge of Greek plastic art must convince us that no artist would have created, even if he could have maintained artificially the equilibrium of his statue, an independent figure in so unstable an attitude; it must have been *arrested* downward motion, a checking of the fall by extraneous support. This is confirmed by the fact that whereas the left side of the statue indicates the proneness to collapse, the right side has the superior tension and rigour which comes of a strong support. That such an external aid originally existed is clear from a celebrated scarab (Pulsky gem of Pesth).[1] Here the dying Amazonian queen, with head and body inclined as in our statue, and substantially identical at every point, has fallen upon her knees, and is temporarily saved from falling to the ground by the strong arm of Achilles. The resemblance is so great that if the intaglio is not a copy of the marble group, both must at least lean upon the same plastic model. The scene depicted is then the victory of Achilles over Penthesilea, and the awakening emotion of pity, as he beholds the beauty of his vanquished foe. Of this episode of the most celebrated post-Homeric epic poem, the *Æthiopis* of Arctinus, we have unfortunately not a line left — a loss all the more to be deplored because the creation of the poetical figure of Penthesilea in its heroic as well as in its womanly attributes is evidently one of the distinguishing merits of Arctinus, and one of the finest conceptions of the post-Homeric epic; yet the extant monuments speak clearly of the charm that every phase of the poet's narrative exercised upon the minds of the people. Their artists seemed to have been specially moved by the many refined touches that this ἀριστεία of Penthesilea revealed, and to have translated them frequently through the medium of sculpture, painting, and ceramic decoration into their art language. Overbeck's claim[2]

[1] Overbeck, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, i.[4], p. 240, 63 *a*; Schöne, *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1865, p. 115.

[2] Overbeck in *Zeitschrift für Alterthumswiss.* viii., Nos. 37, 38, 39.

that the extant monuments enable us to trace in the main lines every stage of this episode, is borne out by his collection of the facts; and as our Ludovisi head must, if the present view is tenable, take its place with the other monuments that illustrate the episode, it may be desirable to sketch rapidly his argument. As introductory to the conflict, the arrival of the Amazons was described; Troy is mourning the loss of its greatest hero when the new allies arrive. A famous vase painting[1] and two marble reliefs[2] (the Borghese relief particularly fine) connect the presence of the Amazons with the death of Hector; the dragging of his body, the ransoming, and the lamentation over his remains are presented on the one side of the vase, whereas the counterpart shows the spirited female warriors, keen in their zest for the fray. The proper relief for the eminence of Penthesilea demanded that her encounter with Achilles should be the climax of a general struggle between her heroic fellow-warriors and the Greeks. Of this struggle the late epic of Quintus Smyrnæus, the *Posthomerica*, reproduces a faint echo; more convincing are: 1, two of the reliefs of the Salonichi sarcophagus,[3] in which a general battle of Greeks and Amazons rages, with Ajax and Ulysses as prominent participants; and 2, the reverse of a Cantharus, in which Penthesilea appears in the full heat of the struggle, while Achilles in the obverse is just preparing to mount his chariot for the fray. Then follow in an unbroken series vase representations which may be grouped to mark the progress of the crisis: (1) Achilles' pursuit of Penthesilea, against whose loins he poises his spear (Hamilton vase); then (2) in the Amasis vase,[4] Penthesilea facing her pursuer with uplifted lance, whilst Achilles is about to deal the fatal blow; in the Exekias vase[5] (3) the blow has been dealt; Penthesilea's missile has failed of its mark; she has been brought to her knees by Achilles' spear. From a number of monuments it is fair to assume that Arctinus depicted her life as slowly ebbing away under the fatal stroke. Unlike the terseness with which *Iliad* xxii. allots to Hector in his dying moments but a few words, the death scene of Penthesilea afforded the poet the means of revealing, *after* the conflict is decided, the generous and knightly side in Achilles' character. As

[1] Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Taf. 199.

[2] Winckelmann, *Monum. ined.*, 137, 138.

[3] Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, ii. Pl. 117 A.

[4] Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, iii. Taf. 207; *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 1846, p. 237.

[5] Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, iii. Taf. 206. p. 116 ff.

Welcker has correctly observed, "the beauty of the monuments at this stage points inevitably to an impressive treatment of this theme in the epic."[1] Another painting shows Penthesilea still upon her knees, bleeding, and Achilles aiming a second blow at her, when she appeals to him with uplifted hands to desist from his intention; with this appeal was doubtless coupled the request to treat her dead body decorously (Hector's similar appeal is scornfully rejected by Achilles).[2] The intensity and nobility of this appeal, uttered amid ever-increasing weakness, must have been a most effective part of the episode in the poem; for all the works of art that present the succeeding stages of the episode indicate a complete change in Achilles. Susceptible alike to the impression of her beauty and of her failing powers, he throws aside his spear, comes to her support, now that her knees can no longer maintain her, and prevents her from falling to the ground. It is at this stage that the Vienna statue must have represented her, swooning after the violent effort that the appeal entailed, and about to fall but for the firm staying support of Achilles. This moment, too, is probably the one that the assistant of Phidias, the painter Panænus, had chosen to delineate on the partition that inclosed the throne of Olympian Zeus.

The progress of the physical decline in Penthesilea is sharply defined in the succession of sarcophagi, gems, vase paintings, enumerated by Overbeck. Penthesilea, who in the early stages after she has received the wound, assists Achilles' efforts to sustain her by placing her right arm mechanically upon his shoulder, seems to slip gradually downward. Three sarcophagi[3] mark this decline. In one sarcophagus relief the very moment is indicated when even the mechanical support on the shoulder of Achilles fails her; the arm stiffens, and the hand extends wearily into space. (It is worthy of note that, whilst up to this stage the Amazon seems in every instance to have been presented helmeted or with the Phrygian cap, the head covering disappears in all the later stages in which her powers rapidly fail and she threatens to fall forward.) Achilles must now change his mode of support, and several intaglios[4] indicate how with both hands he checks her prone fall and prepares

[1] Welcker, *Epischer Cyklus*, ii. p. 170 ff.

[2] Gerhard, *Trinksch. und Gef.*, Taf. C. 4–6; Jahn, *Münch. Vasensaml.*, pp. 116, 117. On a Cylix, *Mon. ined. dell' Inst.*, ii. 11; *Annali*, vi. p. 297.

[3] (1) Millin, *Gal. mythol.*, Pl. clix. No. 595; (2) Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, ii. Pl. 112; (3) Raoul Rochette, *Mon. inéd.*, 24.

[4] Mus. Florentin., ii. 33, No. 2.

to lay her down as dissolution sets in. Beyond this point, says Overbeck, the art works do not carry us.

Every step in the catastrophe has been illustrated by the monuments except the very last, when Achilles has tenderly placed her body on the ground. It would be strange if this alone of all the monuments that lent themselves to artistic treatment had failed to inspire the creative spirit of the Greeks; for it marked the strangest episode in the conduct of the relentless son of Peleus. She whom he has vanquished, masters him even in her death; as he looks upon her peerless beauty he puts an end to the surging battle in which his followers are still engaged with the Amazons (indications of this on the sarcophagi), and now he makes good his promise to give up her body for becoming burial. Welcker infers from the account in Quintus Smyrnæus and the corroborative testimony of later writers that in announcing this purpose Achilles extolled in noble words of praise the dead heroine, whose prowess and womanliness had in equal degree enthralled his soul. Without such an encomium the prolonged account of her gradual death would have been an artistic defect; with it there is a splendid gradation in the course of which the tumultuous soul of Achilles gradually yields to the impulses of love and admiration for his noble opponent. The expiring Penthesilea, prostrate on the ground, majestic even in the last throes, must have been such as the Ludovisi relief indicates, mighty and yet human, womanly; in the general characteristics of physical dissolution strongly akin to the Vienna statue, but intellectually pre-eminent. Where the archaic statue is content to let the outer attire proclaim the Amazon, we have here the mighty female warrior expressed more eloquently than garb and helmet could do it in a countenance to which the epithet *ἀντιάνειρα* seems most appropriate. The loss of the helmet as she sinks into greater helplessness, discloses to view the matchless beauty of her head and strongly influences the change in Achilles' feelings from pity to admiration and love; this, at all events, seems distinctly suggested by Propertius, iv. 10, 15, —

> Aurea cui postquam nudavit cassida frontem,
> Vicit victorem candida forma virum.

This absence of the helmet may also serve to explain the one feature on which the adherents of the Medusa theory have always largely depended, the tangled, and, as they say, snake-like condition of the locks; on the contrary, what is more natural than that, as

the helmet suddenly drops from the head, the profusion of locks, freed from its environing hold, falls in wild disorder about the face? It may not be amiss, finally, to point out the peculiar conditions that made the heroic Amazons so desirable a theme for the artists of the Hellenistic period.

It has been remarked by more than one writer on Hellenistic art, that among the most striking creations in sculpture we find barbarian types, and that both in attitude and in expression the artists have lavished upon them those touches of elemental passion or else that profoundly moving pathos, which is so marked at this period of art. Various causes may be suggested for this fact; the art-development of several centuries had so firmly established the ideal Greek countenance, the self-possessed manly type in its perfect equipoise, and the suavely refined standard of feminine expression, that no considerable departure from these models under the stress of pathos or of passion was possible; hence, it was necessary to draw upon the barbarian, the Thracian, Phrygian, Galatian, when the influence of unusual agitations of the soul was to be portrayed, for he was more readily susceptible than the self-contained Greek to the tempestuous inroads of physical or mental disturbances. Again, the struggles of Alexander's successors with their unruly and aggressive neighbours, had brought into the experience of many Greeks the fact that these outlying nations on the confines of their civilization demanded serious consideration, in view of their defiant energy, their marked individuality, their heroic spirit of self-sacrifice; the very uncouthness of their appearance, the unguarded directness of their movements, furnished interesting traits of which the artistic soul willingly availed itself in its quest for new themes. Thus the dying Galatian, the Ludovisi group of the barbarian who stabs his wife and then himself, the Marsyas, the Scythian whetting his knife, the naked Persian warrior from Attalus' votive gift, whose ferocity is traceable in every line, as he maintains his defence, even on his knees, — all these works speak for the new current of artistic thought; its influence reveals itself in the manner in which it invests, with strange and characteristic details, subjects whose full possibilities the older conventionalized treatment did not even attempt to exhaust; into the old contest of the gods and the giants, the increased knowledge of the barbarian's impetuosity and unbridled passions infuses renewed interest, for the giants are to the gods what Scythians and Galatians are to the Greeks; and in the Gigantomachia of Pergamum, the giants wage a tooth-and-nail contest,

whereas, the gods inflict their telling strokes with a deliberation born of σωφροσύνη. Hence, as in the Renaissance each generation of artists that had reached a distinctly new ideal of excellence, promptly applied this conception to the whole cycle of sacred and legendary art, retaining certain valuable traditions, and modifying others according to the new light they had received, so the Greek artists, now keenly alive to the individuality of their barbarian neighbours, and to the possibilities of pathetic treatment that this individuality afforded, traversed the whole field of mythical art, and substituted for the restraint of earlier art a spontaneous and vigorous individuality; in no direction to better purpose than in the treatment of the Amazonian contests. For nowhere else among the non-Greek combatants did the legends furnish the concrete instances of heroic forgetfulness of self, coupled with inborn beauty and grace. The Amazonian warriors alone enabled the Greek artists to combine abandon in action with loveliness of form and nobility in expression.

Under these circumstances, what more grateful theme could a great Greek artist have found than this wonderful episode of Arctinus' *Æthiopis*, in which the innate charm of womanhood so completely transfigures physical pain and even the death agony, that to it the obdurate spirit of an Achilles yields, and substitutes tenderness for ferocity, human sympathy for the dire revengeful spirit of the conflict?

And now, recurring to the work that prompted these considerations, is it to be construed as part of an independent figure, or is it a fragment of a group? This is a question we can hardly settle conclusively. It may readily be conceived that the single figure of a Πενθεσίλεια ἀφεῖσα τὴν ψυχήν could be to Greeks well versed in the gems of their literature, the eloquent illustration of that noble soul whose praises Achilles sounded, even though no Achilles stood before her in the attitude of generous admiration. If, however, such a group as the poem suggests ever existed, its traces are lost. At all events, no one of the statues or busts extant seems worthy to be the mate of the illustrious heroine that this fragment was intended to portray.

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Aristotle and the Arabs.

FROM the beginning of the ninth to the close of the twelfth century science in all its departments found a home under the empire of the Caliphs. In certain lines of mental activity, the eminence of the Shemites has long been recognized. The world owes to them the development of, at least, three mighty religious systems, and they were the chosen repository of what we deem most sacred during many centuries. In whatever of learning, art, and letters the characteristics are deep sentiment, strong individuality, and subjective analysis, we find them excellent. We instinctively put a high estimate on them in all descriptive science; for in our own day geography, chemistry, astronomy, and the older mathematics bear the impress of their language in technical expressions. The outcome of their nomadic habits was an energetic restlessness and inquisitive research which have made them famous as explorers and annalists; while their methods of close observation made them pre-eminent for centuries in the sciences of grammar and medicine. And nowhere can be found a more subtle analysis of sentiment, a wider play of emotion, a more vivid exercise of imagination or the expression of a deeper feeling, than in their lyric poetry.

But if we turn to consider their relations to another class of sciences, to jurisprudence, politics, history, and philosophy, the case is far different. Their empires have been vast and powerful, their laws operative over continents, and their annals voluminous. But their soldiers were hirelings, not patriots; their legislation only the interpretation of an inconsistent but authoritative book by the unmethodic and contradictory decisions of judges whose very powers and functions were themselves undefined. Their history remains to be written by aliens, and when we hear that on the revival of learning in the twelfth century the West made its first acquaintance with Greek philosophy through translations made into the Latin from the Arabic, and that these were translations from Aristotle, we feel that we are face to face with a curious problem.

Three features of Mohammed's system were new and strange to his people; a nation of idolaters could scarcely conceive the unity of God; the sovereignty of the Caliph and the regulation of the succession was an abrupt transition from patriarchal government, and while men who were devout by nature might accept with reverence from the hands of their teacher the doctrine of a blind fatalism, they were called on after his death to expound his sacred book, and introduced to new meanings of belief and unbelief, future punishment and predestination. In the early years of the Caliphate the differences between the two political parties were purely theological in their nature. The Charigites on the one hand, as the supporters of the reigning sovereigns, laid claim to the purest orthodoxy, and in fanatic zeal carried the fatalism of their founder to its doctrinal limits in the dogma of infant damnation. The Shy'ites, on the other hand, were somewhat under the influence of the civilizations of the East and had taken from India and Persia the conceptions of divinity in human form. They were in opposition with reference to the succession, and as partisans of Ali believed in his return after a period of death, supporting themselves by the extension of that peculiar doctrine to all mankind.

Co-ordinate with these parties were two others, who were in part successors to the theology of those just mentioned. The Morgites had their origin in northern Arabia and Syria. Like the Charigites they were extreme Fatalists, but took their peculiar stand on the doctrine that once a Moslim always a Moslim, and denied that a true believer could fall from grace. The Kadarites gradually separated from them in belief, and found a rallying-point in Damascus. They taught the freedom of the will, denied fate and the predestined necessity of all human actions.

But the rise of such topics was not spontaneous with the Arabs. There seems to be no reasonable doubt that in Damascus they found a point of contact with Greek letters and the Byzantine theology. In spite of the conquest the Greeks still lived and wrote in that city, and the conquerors were gradually awakened from their indifference to the conquered. Two of the Byzantine theologians of Damascus are in particular men of mark. The one was Johannes Damascenus, a Greek of noble family, and versed in all the learning of his ancestral people, who succeeded his father as the first counsellor of the Caliph Abdelmalik, but afterwards withdrew to the cloister of Saba, where he died. His writings attempt to find a scientific basis for theology in the application of the peripatetic

philosophy and set forth the rational character of Christianity. Many regard him as the forerunner of scholasticism. The other was Theodorus Abucara, a Syrian by descent. His works have a general resemblance to those of Johannes, and like them take the form of imaginary disputations between Saracens and Christians.

Debates of this character were of real occurrence, and finally became so frequent and hot that they were forbidden by law. Hence such questions as the relation of good and evil to God, the freedom of the will and its consistency with a belief in the Divine omniscience, must have been frequently before the Moslim mind. Finding, then, these topics treated as they are in the writings of the Morgites, we fairly conclude that the introduction of such abstruse subjects into Mohammedan polemics was due to the influence of Christianity.

In the second century after the Hegira we come upon more certain ground. The Saracen empire was assuming vast proportions and with the extension of its physical limits was becoming more and more susceptible to the influence of the civilizations which it had brought under its temporal sway. In nothing else was the radical change in the character of the people better shown than in the settlement and growth of cities, which became centres of great influence, and at last brought under complete control the whole movement of Mohammedan thought. Bassora, in particular, became the seat of an acute and powerful school of dogmatists. The teachings of both the Morgites and Kadarites had made their way into the lands of the Euphrates, and the philosophy which had entered the circle of Arabic thought in Damascus found a high development in the new commerical centres, whither strangers from all lands flocked for profit and pleasure. This was the era of translations. The Abbaside dynasty had succeeded that of Omeiya, and its second caliph, Mansur, was distinguished by broad sympathies and great liberality, both of mind and purse. To him the Arabic world of letters owed the translations into its own tongue of the great works of foreign nations: the Kalila wa Dymna, instructive apologues from the far East; the great Siddhanta, an encyclopædia of astronomy from India; but first in importance, the principal works of Ptolemy, Euclid, and Aristotle. These were scarcely published before they were eagerly sought and read on all sides. The effect was indescribable and magical. Thought took a new turn, and, breaking loose from the dogmatic and polemic questions of theology, engaged itself instantly in the service of science. The old sects

lived on, but in diminished esteem, while with a rapidity almost incomprehensible, a comparatively new one, founded scarcely fifty years before, came to the front with ideas of extreme liberality, laid siege to the anxious narrowness of Mohammedan orthodoxy, and made the great empire of the Caliphs a refuge, during all the dark ages of Europe, for science, philosophy, and the arts.

The Motazilites — for so this new school was called — became at once the leaders of the intellectual movement. Defining God as a concept of ethical principles, they struck immediately at the crass anthropomorphism of prevailing belief, and proclaiming a purely rationalistic theory of inspiration, scouted the faith which represented the Koran as an uncreated book. In the wake of these revolutionary sentiments followed a widespread tendency to investigation and an extensive scientific literature. History, political science, ethnography, and archæology; travel and natural science, in particular geography, chemistry, and astronomy; philology, mathematics, and philosophy, — all became subjects of earnest study. The results were of greater or less value, but the barriers of bigotry, intolerance, and disdain for everything foreign were utterly overthrown at both Baghdad and Bassora. Learning developed into speculation, and strove to rise from the known as determined by experiment into the loftier regions of the unknown.

At the beginning, therefore, of the ninth century of our era, the end of the third from the Hegira of Mohammed, Arabian philosophy may be said to have fairly started on its path. A short time will suffice for a rapid survey of its course. The first name of mark is that of Al Kindi, whose voluminous works comprise upwards of two hundred and fifty treatises. They contain a complete exposition of Aristotle's writings on logic. But an exposition of and familiarity with a subject were in Al Kindi's case far from appropriation and acceptance. The distinguishing mark of his times (813–842) was the laborious, unceasing, and indiscriminate translation of the monuments of Greek learning and philosophy without any attempt at systematization or adoption. Mathematics, and not logic, is in Al Kindi's mind the basis of all investigation, and the only certain foundation for the study of philosophy. Rising through the science of numbers in its most extensive application, he apprehends the sphere to be the ideal of form. The sphere within the orbit of the moon is the world of change, that without is the universe of elements. Hence, astronomy is the servant of astrology, and the whole circle of physical science the handmaid of philosophy.

Unfortunately, our knowledge of his system is only fragmentary, but we feel the influence of the Pythagoreans more strongly than any power of Aristotle.

Al Farabi († 950) reflects clearly the encyclopædic character of Arabian study. His philosophic activity was principally confined to the promulgation and explication of the leading works of Aristotle; but a schedule of his writings, which has been saved to us, shows their division into logical, ethical, political, mathematical, superstitious, and musical. He is best known to modern times by a treatise introductory to the study of Aristotle, the character of which is perhaps best shown by the titles of its various sections, which are as follows: The sects of philosophers; the plan of Aristotle in each of his books; the starting point of philosophical study; the goal of philosophy; the method of the philosopher; the Aristotelian terminology and the reasons for its obscurity; how the teacher of Aristotelian philosophy must be constituted, and what the student of the same needs. But we can trace his system with still less certainty than we feel as regards that of Al Kindi, and the accounts which we have of him are mostly legendary and in part contradictory. He orders and enumerates the principles of being, sets forth a doctrine of the double aspect of intellect; but although assigning in the scheme of human perfectibility a high place at one time to the elevation of intellect, at another he seems to regard its separate existence as a mere delusion.

If we knew nothing further of Arabian philosophy in the tenth century than these sparse facts regarding Al Kindi and Al Farabi, we should doubtless be led to believe that it began where it ended—with Aristotle. But such a conclusion would be erroneous. The little which we know of Al Kindi's system points rather to doctrines like those of the Neo-Pythagoreans, or to the common characteristics of the Egyptian and Chaldean religions, while in the case of Al Farabi we have no light to see an independent or consistent theory in either his mind or his writings. Moreover, we must beware of confusing with their real belief the intellectual occupations of the Arabs who at Baghdad and Bassora in the lands of the Euphrates, and at Nisibis in Khorassan, were exposed to the influences of every shade of alien doctrines, and to the impetuous assaults of foreign civilizations.

The real position of Arabian thought at this time (959–1000) is probably shown by the publications of that wonderful monastic sect known as the Ikwan-as-Safa, the Brothers of Purity. This

order had its seat in Bassora. It was highly organized, special duties being assigned to each of its four ranks, and its mission was the reconciliation of science and faith. The commanding position assigned to them by contemporaries is shown by the completeness with which their writings have been transmitted to us, and we may safely assume that in them we have a faithful transcript of the philosophic status of their period. Greek philosophy had first been summoned to the assistance of heretics, but the orthodox were no less shrewd. The Motazilites had grasped the keen logic of Aristotle in the strife between nominalism and realism, but it was not long before their opponents with equal readiness had recourse to the widely diverse doctrines of the Neo-Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists. Accordingly the Brothers of Purity embody in the fifty-one treatises of their encyclopædia what they conceived to be a harmonious system, acceptable alike to orthodox and heterodox. The most opposite philosophical views are adduced in their presentation of a complete universe, and the Koran is either set aside or its language explained away. Their logic and science of nature are borrowed from Aristotle, their psychology and anthropology from Galen, their metaphysics, the origin and development of the objective universe, from the Neo-Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists, and their astronomy and astrology from Ptolemy. Without attempting to show how naïvely unconscious they were of the radical incompatibility of their materials, or how they sought to work them into a harmonious eclecticism, we must strongly emphasize one fact, that the great problem was to establish a universe whose bond is a Soul of the world, and that in the attainment of this their main object they adopted a method of procedure which is largely a mirror of Platonism. An idea of their characteristic processes may be obtained from the following brief synopsis of the system of their macrocosm.

The nature of things corresponds to that of numbers; and as the units are the basis of all further numbers, so they correspond to the genera of all things existent. Hence the universe can only be developed in nine gradations. The first four of these comprehend the spiritual world, and are I. God; II. Reason or νοῦς; III. Soul or ψυχή; IV. Primordial Matter or πρώτη ὕλη, that is Form. Reason, a spiritual substance, emanated from God, has permanence, and is both complete and perfect. The Soul emanated from Reason, has permanence and is complete, but not perfect. Form is a spiritual substance, emanated from the Soul, and has permanence, but is

neither complete nor perfect. The πρώτη ὕλη, or form, has length, breadth, and thickness and so develops V. Matter, or δευτέρα ὕλη, and this is the last process of emanation or direct creation. The perfection of matter is the sphere; hence, VI. the Universe, *i.e.* the world, the planetary sphere, the fixed star sphere, the Saturn sphere, and so on up to the last or foundation sphere. The three further stages of development are VII. Nature, ἡ φύσις; VIII. the Elements, στοιχεῖα; and IX. Products, γενόμενα. Nature is one of the powers of the heavenly all-soul permeating everything beneath the sphere of the moon. All bodies in this sphere are of two kinds: simple or elementary, *viz.* fire, air, water, earth, and compound or products, *viz.* minerals, plants, animals.

In all this the deductive process is keen and interesting, the refinement and subtility of argument remarkable, and the explanation of those difficulties which arise either from ignorance or a superstitious reverence for the silly statements of the Koran both shrewd and astute. The student of philosophy will of course mark the strong preponderance of Pythagoras and Plato in the subject and treatment, even though the method in the world of nature may remind him of Aristotle.

But when we turn to those treatises of the Brothers of Purity which deal with logic and psychology, we find a far different tendency. For our purpose it will be enough merely to enumerate the subjects and order of their treatment. I. Theoretical Science and its divisions; II. Introduction to Logic, the word, the thought. III. The Categories, the resolution of genera into species and the question of relations; IV. Hermaneutica or De Interpretatione; V. Analytica Priora; and VI. Analytica Posteriora, Analogy, Axioms, and the laws of Analogy. It might almost be an enumeration of the chapters of the Organon, which are I. The Categories; II. De Interpretatione, speech as the expression of thought; III. Analytica Priora; IV. Analytica Posteriora; V. The Topics, and VI. The Sophistical Elenchi. In the whole department of logic the subject, method, treatment, and terminology are Aristotelian from first to last; while the psychology bears almost as close a relation to that of Galen, except that a harmony with the Koran is secured by wire-drawn and mystical explanations of both the Greek and Arabic terms.

It would be wearisome to follow, even in outline, the philosophy of this school through all its departments. Enough has been said to show the eclectic character of philosophy at this stage. The

critic remarks in its ingenuous universality strong inconsistencies, and the existence of those two distinctly opposite forces which, after the bond of mere inquisitiveness was broken and the real question of consistent appropriation came to the front, split the whole culture of the Arabic empire as completely as the Moors in Spain were separated from the Seljukes in Baghdad.

We have now arrived at the zenith of Arabian thought, and find two distinguished names which represent the thoughtful, comprehensive, and scientific adherence to two separate and consistent lines of opinion, — Ghazzali or Algazel to theological mysticism, and Ibn Sina or Avicenna to philosophical empiricism.

The former, although in point of time the successor, must be mentioned first, as he finds no place in this discussion. He was a man of keen insight and sincere convictions, but distinctly a theologian. He became in early life the head of a great theological school at Baghdad, but the current philosophical discussions overwhelmed him, and he retired to Damascus, where he led for ten years the meditative life of a recluse. Returning at the expiration of that period to his former sphere, he resumed his former activity; but after fifteen years of intellectual vicissitudes, he finally withdrew to his native town of Tous in Khorassan, and spent his remaining years in the characteristic contemplations of the Arabian mystics or Sufis, who had been his earliest instructors and in the interests of whose doctrines his attacks upon Avicenna and the prevalent philosophy of his times were made. He was chiefly known in theology for his works on eschatology, which, leaving behind the simple and childish teachings of the Koran, had become with the Mohammedans a complicated science. In philosophy he has been called the Oriental Descartes, because of the apparent scepticism with which he attacked the theory that effects are due to the very nature of causes. He maintained, to be sure, that the succession of cause and effect is only a habit of the mind; that there is no necessary causal nexus, but, unlike Descartes, he found a true connexion in the essence of the Deity. His activity marks the utter overthrow of philosophy in the East and the return of Mohammedan thought in that quarter to channels essentially characteristic of the Shemites.

The greatest conceivable contrast to the stormy, unsettled, and sensitive career of Ghazali is presented by that of Avicenna. Born in obscurity about 980 in a hamlet of Bokhara, he had absorbed, before his fifteenth year, from equally obscure friends and wander-

ing scholars, all the ordinary branches of an Eastern education, and was conversant with the Koran, the best Arabic poetry, elementary mathematics, and enough of the rudiments of medicine to make him a successful and popular practitioner. His premature fame as a physician called him to the court of the Ameer Nah ibn Mansur, under whom his father was a tax-gatherer, and in the library of that prince he found the treasures which unlocked to his precocious mind the whole field of learning. It is said that he had previously committed to memory the whole of Aristotle's metaphysics, but without any assimilation of its meaning, until a treatise of Al Farabi's, which he bought for an insignificant sum at a book-stall, revealed its hidden significance. It is certain that at seventeen he had gone the round of human knowledge and had commenced his career as an author by a critical treatise on psychology, which was translated into Latin as early as the sixteenth century, and has been edited in the original in this. Wandering from one princely court to another, he spent his life in alternations of wild gaiety and deep study. Basking in the favour of one patron until his death or fall, and escaping by thrilling adventures to the service of another, he studied and wrote in all vicissitudes until his life of dissipation brought on the premature illness which led him, in deep repentance and unfeigned piety, to the close of his jovial, careless, and often far from exemplary life.

His philosophy has two eminent features: first, that it brings into clear relief the meritorious side of empiricism while giving due weight to what might be called the intuitionalism of Neo-Platonism; and second, that while evidently impressed with the mark of Aristotle and the Peripatetics, his treatment of his subject is neither servile nor limited, but clear, independent, and consistent.

The soul is shown to exist by its two functions of motion and perception. There are three gradations of soul power, resident respectively in plants, animals, and man, the two latter being the animal and the rational. Every body is a compound of matter and form. Living bodies are distinguished from others not in their matter, but in their life. But what thus resides and inheres in a body is its form; hence, forms being entelechies or actualities by which the essence of things is perfected, the soul is an entelechy. These are, however, of two kinds, one being the principles of actions and effects, the other the action and effect *per se*. The soul is a principle, hence the soul is defined as the first entelechy of a natural organized body. You may combine elementary bodies so that one of the elements pre-

vails over the other as in a drink where the sweet prevails over the sour, or so that the two elements are equal as in a gray colour which resembles white and black in an equal degree. Combinations like these are a mixture, μῖξις; the soul is not so combined, but by a σύνθεσις, as when the seal is impressed on the wax. In this third form of combination the power is from without, hence the soul comes from without the body in which it resides. He then enumerates and explains the vital forces of both plants and animals, closing the chapter on the powers of animals with this metaphor. In irrational animals the motive power is the prince to which all others are subject, the five senses are the informers sent out in every direction, the receptive power is the postmaster to whom the informers return, the imagination or representative power is the courier between the postmaster and the prime minister, which is the judgment, and the memory is the chamber of archives. His theory of sense-perception is almost exactly that of Plato as given in the Timæus, its processes being aggregation and separation, contraction and dilation, depression and repulsion, but unlike Plato he attributes to all the five senses the general perceptions of shape, number, size, motion, and rest.

Passing from the external to the inner sense, he distinguishes, I. The presentative power by which I know on seeing a certain yellow substance that it is honey, flowing, sweet and odorous, and that without having touched, tasted, or smelt it; II. The imagination or phantasy, which differs from the former in dealing not only with true perceptions, but with untrue and false ones not obtained in that form through the senses; III. The judgment, and IV. memory and recollection. According to Aristotle the pictures of the phantasy are induced immediately by sense perceptions; according to Avicenna mediately by the material stored up in the presentative faculty. Aristotle says the memory can refer directly only to sensuous images, and that in so far as thoughts have no intellectual image they are called up derivatively: Avicenna declares that it only retains thoughts obtained through the processes of sense-perception. Aristotle allows judgment to no other animal but man; Avicenna enrolls it among the powers common to all living creatures, and supports his position by the case of a lion which, discovering his prey at a distance, sees an object of the size of a small bird, but does not on that account hesitate to pursue it, forming a correct judgment as to its real size.

The apperceptive faculty resides in the anterior convolution of the

brain, the phantasy in the central, and the memory in the posterior convolutions; the judgment pervades the whole. If any one of these convolutions be injured, there is a corresponding injury to a faculty of the mind; hence the intellect has need of organs for its activity, and cannot exist apart from its physical media. The only immortal power, therefore, is the soul, which, in a certain relation, appropriates the essence of both physical and mental potencies, and brings them into activity. The three processes of cognition, *viz.* passive reception and retention, active combination and separation, and judgment or perception with the memory, are common to all living creatures; but the thinking soul which forms concepts of intelligible things, such as potency and activity, substance and accident, homogeneity and heterogeneity, and the like, — that is to say, the understanding, — is peculiar to rational man. This νοῦς ὑλικός alone can reduce the manifold to the unit, and the unit to the manifold, by analysis and synthesis, and is that which possesses the power of logical thought. Through resistance to what is blameworthy, it develops the practical understanding, which directs to wisdom, firmness, thoughtfulness, and justice. In some the practical understanding passes over all intermediate processes direct to inspiration and revelation, and creates prophets and apostles. The two final chapters of Avicenna's psychology are to prove that the soul is a substance which can exist without the body, and that human souls have their origin and their end in an intelligible substance separate from everything corporeal, which bears a relation to them like that which light has to sight.

The striking characteristic of the whole system is that it reveals an intelligent comprehension of Aristotle combined with that independence of treatment which argues a true assimilation of the loftiest philosophical thought. But the highest powers of Avicenna are probably shown in his canon of medicine, which by its wide scope, deep erudition, and bold inductions gave him the very foremost place among all Oriental scientists, and served in Latin translations for the guide to all medical study in Europe for five centuries. It was by him also that the great problems of logic, the universal essence and the universal before, in, and after things, were first approached and propounded for later ages to solve; and although he often assumes what he attempts to prove, although the weakness of his positions was exposed by the far-seeing Ghazzali and his Moorish successors in Spain, yet it must be conceded that he stands out as a majestic figure in the march of ideas.

It is often said that Arabian philosophy is but a phase of Aristotelianism, that the Arabs, dazzled by the brilliancy of the Stagirite, blindly accepted his doctrines and writings, and in their very lack of appreciation were but the insensate strong box in which the great system of the Peripatetics was locked up for a few centuries and in due time delivered unharmed to the Western world. It has been the aim of this discussion to show the untruthfulness of this assumption. Beginning with new ideas derived partly from the Koran and in greater measure from Christianity, the Arabs fought the battle of nominalism and realism before the terms were known in the West. Yielding then to the influences of alien civilizations, they adopted an eclectic philosophy with elements of widely diverse nature, in which Neo-Platonism at first assumed a strong preponderance and which so entirely controlled the public mind that the dissenting Ghazzali was looked on as a sceptic and felt bound to retire from his position as a public teacher. But pursuing their investigations with the restless energy to which reference has been made, they ended in a modified and powerful peripateticism which was distinctly their own. This system, transmitted in part directly to Europe from the East, and in part with still more radical modifications through the Moors in Spain by their great thinker Averroes, combined with the direct tradition of scholasticism in the West, and thus indirectly but certainly set in motion the whole activity of what we call modern science.

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Iphigenia in Greek and in French Tragedy.

THE legend of Iphigenia is one of the most touching of its kind, and its theme has been a favourite with dramatists of various times. The story of the young girl, so gentle and forbearing, so modest and submissive to her father's will, furnishes, indeed, sufficient material for idealization. The tale is not exactly primitive: it deals with the Trojan war, and yet is post-Homeric. It is found outlined in connected form for the first time in the epic *Cypria*, the authorship of which is ascribed to the poet Stasinus. Then, in the fifth century B.C., the subject in itself and in its ramifications was treated by Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. The legend must have been early in existence, for the fundamental thought — that of a human sacrifice — would point to a barbarous stage in the Greek religion, when such practices were still in honour. Minor legends are apt to gravitate around a great event or personality in history or mythology, until at last they are drawn in and assimilated; then, in the measure of their original interest, they are given forth once more, either as mere incidents to the main subject, or as separate issues which at times assume considerable importance. And so it is with the legend of Iphigenia, which appears as one of the chief episodes of the Trojan war, in connection with the departure of the Greeks from Bœotia for Troy.

The story, as it was known to the Greeks, tells in brief how at one time Agamemnon had slain a stag in the grove of Artemis, who, in her anger, claimed in return the king's daughter. The goddess forced the matter to an issue at last by detaining the Greeks on their way to Troy (Sophocles, *Electra*, 563–576). Their fleet lay becalmed at Aulis, until Agamemnon, their chosen leader, kept his oath to offer up to the goddess the most exquisite thing born to him in the course of the year following his offence; this proves to be his child Iphigenia (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 17–24). According to one version, the sacrifice was actually consummated (Æschylus, *Agamemnon*, 184–248). Euripides followed the story of the *Cypria*: he let the goddess interpose at the supreme moment,

and translate her innocent victim to the Tauric Chersonese. This narration brings to an end the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, and leads up to the subsequent adventures of *Iphigenia in Tauris*. Each of these stories has met with a fit rendering in the tongues of modern times, for after a lapse of more than twenty centuries Racine and Goethe have given new life to the ancient legend.

Euripides rendered the Greek ideal of Iphigenia, and it is to him that Racine is indebted in the main for the subject-matter of his *Iphigénie en Aulide*, produced for the first time at Versailles, Saturday, August 18, 1674.

When Racine in this masterpiece of his undertook to

> Françoysement chanter la grecque tragédie,

— a verse which applies to his efforts much better than to the *Cléopâtre* of Jodelle of which it was written, — it was by no means as a translation or a mere adaptation from the Greek. According to his usual practice, Racine produced a separate work of art, and yet in so doing not only did he follow the thread of the Greek story so closely that it can be traced through his own work from beginning to end, but he also turned repeatedly to Euripides for ideas, feelings, and expressions. Both poets fulfilled the requirements of the Aristotelian rule: the attention throughout centres on the unfolding of one event, within one day, and at one place. Both tragedies, the French as well as the Greek, are pervaded with human passion, essentially the same in both. The preliminaries of the plot are somewhat more elaborate in the French than in the Greek; this is due to the greater detail of the French play. In one instance Racine has made an intentional omission: he ignores Agamemnon's promise of a sacrifice to Artemis. This is the key to the divergences between the Greek and the French tragedies. Otherwise, Racine kept close to his Greek original, apparently well satisfied in the main with Euripides' management of the plot. He gives his play a Greek setting, and boldly introduces such elements as superstitious awe of the gods and blind obedience to their oracles. As far as possible, however, he harmonizes the details of the Greek structure with the growing traditions of the French stage. It is in this spirit, for instance, that he eliminates all the choral passages. On the other hand, he allows his own thought to spring into life and action. He reveals its power in developing the plan outlined by Euripides, and in interweaving with it a fresh element of intrigue. This new matter maintains its individual interest throughout Racine's play,

and adds materially to the tragedy without impairing the strength and dignity of the plot derived from Euripides. Thus the French tragedy is purposely lacking in the simplicity of the Greek; but what it loses in this respect, it gains in completeness of expression. The Greek poet leaves much of the detail of his characters to the ready imagination of his audience. The French poet sheds more light upon their nature, and is more explicit, more lavish of detail, less oracular in tone. On the whole, Racine has displayed considerable originality of thought and arrangement. Still, not only did he retain the great majority of Euripides' *dramatis personae*, but he also kept true to their several characteristics. He has studied them carefully in their individual psychic mould, and has sought to make further delineation answer to original traits. His characters are nearer to general humanity, because they exhibit in larger measure its weaknesses. To their greater lifelikeness is due the increased interest and vitality of the action. In some cases they appear like new creations, but this is merely owing to the different point of view taken by the modern poet. The French Achilles, for example, is very different from his Greek prototype; but we should remember that he is placed in different circumstances. In neither tragedy does Achilles know aught of the pretence of marriage by which Iphigenia was lured to Aulis, and he resents with indignation this misuse of his name. But while Euripides supposes Achilles never to have seen Iphigenia before she came to Aulis, Racine connects him from the outset most intimately with the action of the play by assuming him betrothed to Iphigenia previously. Thus the love of Achilles for Iphigenia is given a prominent place in the action, and the piece rendered acceptable to a French audience. In expanding the character of Achilles, Racine took occasion to give fuller expression to his conception of Agamemnon's personality. We may note in passing that the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon which Racine introduces seems to have been suggested by the famous scene in the first Iliad.

In Clytæmnestra's part Racine has made but one slight change. Euripides shows, in a somewhat amusing manner, that the marriage of a daughter was of as much concern to a mother's mind then as now. Achilles had to be most properly vouched for, before Clytæmnestra would give her assent and pronounce the formula of nuptial benediction ἀλλ' εὐτυχοίτην. Owing to the very nature of his conception, Racine could dispense with this phase of the action and represent Clytæmnestra stripped of all such worldliness. In fact,

he was compelled to do so in order to comply with the more austere requirements of form observed in French tragedy. He was satisfied with bringing out forcibly Clytæmnestra's queenly dignity and motherly pride, and with otherwise intensifying the expression of her feelings in presence of the decree pronounced by fate against her daughter.

The Menelaus of the Greek has disappeared in the modern tragedy, and another part has been created to take his place. The new character, quite as subordinate as Euripides' Menelaus, is Ulysses — a fusion, as it were, of Menelaus and the herald of the Greek tragedy.

In the character of Iphigenia, Euripides and Racine reproduce alike her unbounded love for her parents and her desire to do their will, her spirit of forbearance, and withal her fortitude and strength of purpose in going forth to meet her death. One other trait has found different expression in the two poets: the Iphigenia of the Greek realizes that on her depends the progress of the fleet and the fall of Troy. Her death, therefore, will redound to the glory of her country. With Racine, her thoughts are all for Achilles, who is to find an incentive to win fresh laurels in avenging her upon the Trojans. On the whole, the French Iphigenia is more lifelike, closer to the modern conception of a young girl than the Greek. She utters only a few of the lofty sentiments that would, of themselves, set her somewhat apart from the rest of her kind and discourage closer acquaintance with her natural character; Racine represents her besides as grappling with emotions of a more human nature, such as men commonly see in themselves or in those about them. Each of these emotions, subjectively and objectively, in cause and in effect, finds its counterpart in some element of passion that feeds the play and carries on the intrigue.

But it is in the catastrophe of the drama that Racine breaks most sharply with Euripides. While maintaining the general character of Euripides' Iphigenia, he was unwilling to accept either of the Greek versions. He discards both the idea of her death and the crudity of a *deus ex machinâ*. To accomplish his end, he resorts to a subterfuge and introduces into his tragedy a totally new character — Eriphilis, meet to satisfy the oracle's demands for *une fille du sang d'Hélène*. He acknowledges his indebtedness for this idea to Pausanias, according to whom there were various traditions current about the parentage of Iphigenia (Paus. ii. 22, 7). She was commonly said to be the daughter of Agamemnon and Clytæmnestra;

but many chose to see in her the fruit of the rape of Helen by Theseus. Racine combines both views and admits the simultaneous existence of two Iphigenias. The first was known by that name, and was indeed the daughter of Agamemnon and Clytæmnestra; she was indirectly also *une fille du sang d'Hélène*, as Helen was a younger sister of Clytæmnestra. The second Iphigenia was known under the name of Eriphilis: she was Helen's own daughter, as stated above, but had been exposed in infancy in Lesbos. Racine's artifice in making Calchas demand *une fille du sang d'Hélène* is in accordance with the traditional ambiguity of the ancient oracles. The word *fille*, in its proper sense, can express with equal fitness either *daughter* or *maiden*. Yet the legitimacy of this ambiguity in the oracle's words has been justly contested. In his critical edition of Racine's works, Paul Mesnard says: "Une fille du sang d'Hélène ne marque point la fille d'Hélène, de même que ces paroles, fille d'Hélène, ne désigneraient point Iphigénie sa nièce, laquelle cependant est de son sang." Calchas, who had no reason to suspect the real origin of Eriphilis, construes the oracle to mean: —

> Pour obtenir les vents que le ciel vous dénie,
> Sacrifiez Iphigénie.

The rapidity with which Calchas interprets the oracle and reaches this conclusion is essentially a characteristic of the old Greek tragedy.

Iphigenia is about to be sacrificed, when Calchas, under sudden inspiration, reveals the origin of Eriphilis, and claims her for the altar in Iphigenia's stead. The contradiction of these proceedings is self-evident. From the point of view taken by Racine himself, the two girls were equally *filles du sang d'Hélène*, and *ipso facto*, the one should be no more acceptable as a peace-offering to the gods than the other. If anything, Eriphilis would, to the Greek mind, be the less acceptable for this purpose, because her character is not noble.

Further analysis reveals that nothing justifies the need of a sacrifice on the part of the Greeks before setting out for Troy. If Eriphilis was fated to die, it was for a totally different reason. The sacrifice of Iphigenia was absolutely wanton, to begin with. But the mistake made in acquiescing in it is so blind and complete that the action becomes very real. This is an excellent instance of Racine's art in creating the opportunity to display his power of managing a situation, although, even in so doing, he remains largely in Euripides' debt.

On the whole, Racine cuts the knot of his intrigue in most inconsequential fashion. He intended Eriphilis to atone to the gods for the crime of her birth. Her sacrifice was not of the slightest import to the Greeks, and no bond unites it with the Trojan expedition. And yet the entire tale is made to hang thereby. In other words, to Racine's mind, the sacrifice of Eriphilis was for one definite purpose; it brought about an additional solution, totally different, and far more important to the play; the two results are thus made interdependent, though really foreign to each other.

Felicitous as it is, Racine's *dénouement* is inconsistent with the body of the work. Moreover, the play is weak for want of spirit, even of the spirit that animates the Euripidean tragedy. In the Greek myth, one idea predominates: the goddess has been offended, and the mortal at fault has promised atonement. But he is not true to his word, and she grimly bides her time until his loftiest ambitions are involved. Then she strikes him with redoubled force, and inexorably punishes him for the delay. Euripides' play would have been more ideal had Agamemnon sacrificed his daughter to redeem his plighted word. Corneille undoubtedly would have taken such a view, had he worked on this theme. Euripides conceded this much to his plot, that he assumed the king to be moved largely by patriotism. Yet his Agamemnon understood thoroughly the nature of the oracle: he knew that it was directed against him for having once pledged his blood to Artemis, and broken his vow. Racine lowered the ideal still further. With him the action of the gods in allaying the winds is absolutely unmotived. The French Agamemnon had never made a promise to Artemis, and so had none to keep. This appears from the ultimate appeasement of the goddess, without any sacrifice on his part. Therefore, when he agreed to offer up Iphigenia, Racine's Agamemnon was blindly burying a father's love under a patriotism not unmixed with selfish motives.

The Greek solutions of the plot were both of them in keeping with the leading motive, — the sacredness of a vow. The French tragedy has no leading motive of any kind; no new truth is set forth, no great lesson taught. Thus it does not appeal to the deeper instinct of humanity, except as Racine's art becomes so real that the lack of spirit and the shortcomings of the plot are hidden under the beauties of form and expression and a master's psychological delineation of human passions.

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Gargettus, an Attic Deme.

In spite of the careful and diligent research which eminent scholars have shown in their study of the history of Attica, much still remains to be done in this field of inquiry; and the reason for this becomes apparent if we consider the method upon which the investigations have as a rule been carried on. Scholars in the main have considered the history of Attica as identical with the history of Athens itself, and have paid little or no attention to the country demes or townships; and yet that the latter played a part by no means unimportant in the government and the history of the state cannot be doubted, when we consider the statements of such writers as Thucydides and Aristotle. The former tells us that one of these demes, Acharnæ, formed a large part of the state, and could furnish 3000 hoplites[1]; and from the latter we learn that the demes made the preliminary appointments of members of the senate,[2] that the nine archons were chosen by lot from 500 candidates selected by the demesmen,[3] and that the right of enrolling citizens, subject to appeal to the courts and to the approval of the senate, was vested in the demesmen.[4] These statements, moreover, acquire a further importance, in view of the number of members of the country demes who are mentioned by the inscriptions in the official documents of the central government at Athens as having served the state in an official capacity. Unfortunately, of the separate life and internal history of these demes, we know for the most part little or nothing, and it is only in their relations with the state that we are brought into touch with them. Even here our knowledge is dependent upon references to them, or far more frequently to their individual members, scattered throughout the entire range of Greek literature, and the ever-increasing body of Attic inscriptions. It was with the desire, therefore, of bringing a portion at least of this material into a more convenient form for purposes of reference and of adding,

[1] Thuc., II. 20.
[2] Arist., *Pol. Athen.*, 62. 4.
[3] Arist., *Pol. Athen.*, 22. 22.
[4] Arist., *Pol. Athen.*, 42. 1–13.

if possible, to our knowledge of the relative importance of these demes and of their influence upon the state, that I undertook the investigations, of which a part of the results are presented in the present paper.

Although the statement of Hesychius and of Stephanus of Byzantium that the deme Gargettus belonged to the Ægeid tribe has been proved by inscriptional evidence to be correct, it is equally true that at one period it was transferred to the tribe Antigonis. It belonged to the latter, according to Köhler,[1] about 275 B.C., and this view is supported by the evidence of at least one inscription.[2] This transfer, moreover, as we learn from another inscription,[3] must have been made prior to 305/4; and probably, therefore, occurred when the two new tribes were added in 307. In the second century, however, as the inscriptions show,[4] it was restored to the Ægeid tribe, to which it still belonged as late as 200 A.D.[5] The exact date at which this change was made is not known, but it is reasonable to suppose that, when the tribe Antigonis was abolished, Gargettus resumed its place among the demes of its old tribe.

Though no ancient writer has left any statement as to the origin of the name Gargettus, Meursius was probably right[6] in recognizing the eponymous hero of the deme in Gargettus, the father of Ion,[7] or, according to another story, of Alesius, one of those who accompanied Pelops into Elis.[8]

Of Gargettus himself nothing further is known, but the deme that bears his name is mentioned in several old legends. Here, according to the popular belief, the body of Eurystheus found its final resting place, when he perished on his expedition against the children of Hercules.[9] According to Strabo, however, his body was indeed interred at Gargettus, but his head was buried separately at Tricorythus.[10] The former place is also said to have been the scene of two episodes in the life of Theseus. In the first place, Pallas, as we are told, when he was marching to attack Theseus, stationed at this point a portion of his force under his two sons that they might fall upon the Athenians from the rear, or, if opportunity offered,

[1] *Athen. Mitth.*, IV. p. 105.
[2] *C. I. A.*, II. 324.
[3] *Mitth.*, IV. p. 329.
[4] *C. I. A.*, II. 991, 465, etc.
[5] *C. I. A.*, III. 1160, 1163, 1171.
[6] Meursius, *De Populis Atticis*, s. Γαργηττός.
[7] Paus., VI. 22. 7.
[8] Steph. Byz., s. Ἀλήσιον.
[9] Hesychius, Steph. Byz., Schol. *ad* Aristoph. *Thesm.* 898.
[10] Strabo, 8. 377.

might seize Athens itself. Theseus, however, received timely warning of this plan and, attacking this force in its ambush, routed it with such loss that the troops of Pallas at once dispersed.[1] Again, as the story runs, Theseus came to Gargettus when about to sail for Scyros, and there, on the spot where later stood the so-called Araterion, pronounced his solemn curses against the Athenians.[2]

The first of the above-mentioned legends in relation to Theseus has an additional interest for us in its bearing upon the location of the deme. Certain scholars, among whom I may mention Dodwell, Forbiger, and, more recently, Milchhöfer[3] and Lolling, have maintained that the only probable position for such an ambush was on one of the northwestern spurs of Hymettus, and in this region, accordingly, they would locate Gargettus itself. Others, among whom are Leake, Ross, Hanriot and Bursian, have been led by the similarity of names to place it at or near the modern village of Garitó on one of the outlying southeastern spurs of Pentelicus, between that mountain and Hymettus. A more recent supporter of the latter theory is Dr. Milchhöfer, who was apparently induced by inscriptional evidence to change his opinion.[4] And, though this theory has not been conclusively proven, and the site is certainly not so suitable a one for the scene of the Theseus legend, the fact that it is supported by the evidence of inscriptions renders it the more probable of the two.

Leaving these questions, we will next endeavour to gain some idea of the position held by Gargettus in the Attic world by the consideration of its individual members whose names have been preserved for us in literature and in inscriptions.

GARGETTIANS IN LITERATURE.

Had we to depend entirely upon our literary sources for this information, our knowledge would be but slight, for the only name of importance that has been thus preserved is that of the philosopher **Epicurus**, son of Neocles.[5] His life and his position in the philosophic world are too important and too well known to require extended comment, even had the limits of this paper allowed their

[1] Plut., *Theseus*, 13; Philochorus *apud* Schol. *ad* Eur. *Hipp.* 35.

[2] Plut., *Theseus*, 35.

[3] Curtius und Kaupert, *Karten von Attika, Erläutender Text*, Heft II. p. 22.

[4] Milchhöfer, *Untersuchungen über die Demenordnung des Kleisthenes*, p. 14.

[5] Diog. Laert., *Vit. Phil.*, X. 1; Cic. *ad Fam.*, XV. 16; Ælian., *Var. Hist.*, 4. 13; Statius, *Silv.*, I. 3. 96.

adequate treatment. In regard to his family, we have but slight information. His father, **Neocles,** was a school teacher by profession, and one of the 2000 cleruchs who went to Samos after its conquest by Timotheus.[1] In addition to Epicurus, he is known to have had three other sons, **Neocles, Chæredemus,** and **Aristobulus,** who are said to have been closely associated with their brother in his philosophic work.[2] All three, but especially Neocles, as we are told, had from boyhood up a most exalted opinion of the abilities of Epicurus.[3] Of the two other brothers nothing further is known; but Neocles is said to have been the author of a book, *περὶ τῆς ἰδίας αἱρέσεως,* and to have given to the world the saying, *λάθε βιώσας.*[4]

Leaving this family, we have next to consider a Gargettian whose name has been preserved for us in the Thesmophoriazusæ of Aristophanes.[5] "Who," asks Euripides, "O stranger lady, is this old woman who is reviling you?" And Mnesilochus answers, "She is Theonoë, daughter of Proteus." Whereupon the woman indignantly cries, "Nay by the gods, but **Critylla,** daughter of Antitheus, of Gargettus am I." But whether this is a fictitious name, or Aristophanes has seized upon this opportunity to satirize some well-known shrew, we have, unfortunately, no means of determining.

The names of the only other Gargettians known to us from a literary source, have been preserved by Athenæus.[6] Upon the authority of Polemon, he makes the statement that there was in Pallene[7] a dedicatory inscription, erected by those archons and *parasitoi* in the archonship of Pythodorus, who had been crowned with a golden crown. In the subjoined list of *parasitoi,* which he gives in full, the first and third names are those of **Epilycus,** son of Stratius,[8] and **Charinus,** son of Democharès, both of the deme Gargettus.

GARGETTIANS IN INSCRIPTIONS.

Having thus completed our survey of the Gargettians in our literary sources, we shall now turn to the inscriptions, where a much

[1] Strabo, 14. 638; Cic., *de Nat. Deorum,* 1. 26.

[2] Myronianus *apud* Diog. Laert., X. 2. Compare also Suidas, s.v. *Ἐπίκουρος.*

[3] Plut., *Moral.,* 1100 A.

[4] Eudocia, 308; Suidas, s. *Νεοκλῆς.*

[5] Aristoph., *Thesm.,* 898.

[6] Polem. *apud* Athen., VI. 234 f.

[7] The word employed is *Παλληνίς,* which J. Schweighäuser has suggested may have been used for "*Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱερόν* per metonymiam et brevitatis causa."

[8] The text of the passage is undoubtedly corrupt, but the reading adopted would seem to be the true one. For another Gargettian, with the rather unusual name, Stratius, compare *Deltion Arch.,* 1888, p. 25.

more extended field awaits us. Under this head, we shall consider the men in groups according to the sphere of their activity, preserving, however, in each group, so far as possible, a strictly chronological order. The first, then, of whom we shall treat, in pursuance of this plan, will be those who were in any way connected with the government.

Government.

Under this division we find a record of the deme at an early date. An inscription that falls between 452 and 444 B.C. gives the accounts of certain commissioners charged with the care of some public work, and from it we learn that the secretary of this commission for the sixth year was **Ag]asi[p]pus** of Gargettus.[1] Some years later, in 419/8, his fellow-demesman, **Lysidicu[s,** son of ——us, was secretary of the treasurers of Athena.[2]

After a period of fifty years or more, about the middle of the fourth century, ——**des,** a Gargettian, was president of the *proedroi*.[3] At this period, also, as we learn from a broken list of prytanes of the Ægeid tribe, the deme had four representatives in the senate, namely: **Mega[c]l[e]s,** son of E]vænetus; **Eunomus,** son of Euthynom[us; **Democharés,** son of Charinus; and **Menestratus,** son of Straton.[4] In 347/6 another member of the deme, **Androtion,** son of Andron, moved the decree in which the people granted the request of Spartacus and Pærisades, the sons of Leucon, for a renewal of the honours that had formerly been extended to their father.[5] Dittenberger would identify this man with the Androtion against whom Demosthenes delivered one of his orations, and his father, with the **Andron,** son of Androtion, who figures in the Protagoras and the Gorgias of Plato.[6] If this supposition be correct, he was, as Demosthenes tells us,[7] "a man skilled in speaking" and, as we learn from Suidas,[8] "an orator and a demagogue, a pupil of Isocrates."

When six years later, in 341/0, the prytanes of the Ægeid tribe were crowned for faithful performance of their duty, they erected an offering of which the dedicatory inscription has been discovered. In the list of prytanes appended to this decree we find the following Gargettians: **Diodorus,** son of Philocles; **Meixias,**[9] son of Hegesias;

[1] *C. I. A.*, I. 294.

[2] *C. I. A.*, IV. pp. 27, 28, Add. I. 155, 156.

[3] *Eph. Arch.*, 1890, pp. 82 and 171.

[4] *C. I. A.*, II. 870.

[5] Ditt., *Sylloge*, 101.

[6] Ditt., *Sylloge*, 101, note 4. Compare also Schäfer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*, I. p. 316.

[7] Dem., 22. 4.

[8] Suidas, s. 'Ανδροτίων.

[9] Dittenberger in *Sylloge*, 334, reads A[le]xias.

Smicrias, son of Philocedes; and **Ar[e]sias**, son of Pausias.[1] Of these men Diodorus moved the fourth of the subjoined decrees of the tribesmen, and in the third is the first named of the three prytanes, who are to be praised "because they had justly and fitly attended to the gathering of the people, the distribution of the *symbola*, and had made the gift[2] to the people."

From an inscription that falls between the years 340 and 332, and contains a list of those who had performed certain liturgies, we learn that the first of the two representatives from the Ægeid tribe was **Theopompus**, son of Pyrrichus, of Gargettus.[3] Shortly after this, in 325/4, his fellow-demesman **Epicles** served the state as public arbitrator.[4] Then, in an inscription of about 318 that records the transfer of property made by the treasurers of Athena, a Gargettian, the son of Pasicles, is mentioned as the mover of a decree.[5] His name can probably be restored as **Lysippides**; for, as Köhler notes, Lysippides, son of Pasicles, of Gargettus is known to us from two inscriptions of 334/3 and 326/5 respectively.[6] It is barely possible that still another reference to this man is contained in an inscription that falls shortly after 322/1. In this a Gargettian, ——, son of —— cl]es, figures as the mover of a decree in honour of the Argive physician, Evenor.[7] Toward the end of the century, in the year 304/3, another member of the deme, **Epicharinus**, son of Democharès, held the office of secretary of the prytany.[8] To this century also belongs an inscription in which ——s, son of Chærephon, of Gargettus, is mentioned as the mover of a decree.[9]

During the next two hundred years we know of only three members of the deme that were in any way connected with the government. In a list of archons that belongs to the period between 220 and 145 B.C., **Euthylochus** is named as the first thesmothete in the sixth year,[10] and in another inscription of about the same period **—yrrhinus**, son of Theopompus, stands first among the superintendents of the procession at the great Dionysia, to each of whom a golden crown is to be given for zealous performance of their duties.[11] And finally **Ariston**, son of P[—cl]es, held the office of king archon in

[1] *C. I. A.*, II. 872.

[2] Compare *Bull. de corr. hell.*, V. p. 362 *sqq.*

[3] *C. I. A.*, II. 172.

[4] *C. I. A.*, II. 943.

[5] *C. I. A.*, II. 721.

[6] *C. I. A.*, II. 804. B. b. 59; 808. a. 144; 809. c. 243.

[7] *C. I. A.*, II. 187.

[8] *C. I. A.*, II. 255, 256, 256 b, 257.

[9] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, IX. p. 58.

[10] *C. I. A.*, II. 859.

[11] *C. I. A.*, II. 420. Rhousopoulos in *Eph. Arch.*, 2d ser., 180, restores this name as M]yrrhinus.

95/4 B.C.[1] He is mentioned among the priests and magistrates who paid the first-fruits to the Pythian Apollo as having given 100 drachmas. His father's name may possibly be restored as P[antacl]ès, for the name of **Pa]ntacl[es**, son of Ar]iston, a Gargettian, is found in a sepulchral inscription of about this time.[2]

For almost two centuries after this there is no record of any member of the deme's having held an official position. Finally, however, in an ephebic inscription that falls between 98 and 117 A.D. **P]antænus** is mentioned as archon *eponymos*,[3] and within the next twelve years, between 117 and 129, his fellow-demesman, **Chares**, son of Chares, was *hypokosmetes*.[4] The latter is probably identical with the Chares, son of Chares, whose name appears in a list of prytanes for the year 139/40.[5]

From the same list we learn that Gargettus had at this time twenty-two representatives in the senate, of whom **Hermeias**, son of Glaucus, was the *eponymos* of the Ægeid tribe. Another of the prytanes, **Licinnius Atticus**, is no doubt to be identified with Gnæus Licinnius Atticus, son of Licinnius Arrianus, who was ephebe in 126/7.[6] He is likewise known to have served as superintendent from another inscription which falls between the years 161 and 169.[7] While ephebe, he not only was gymnasiarch and the archon *eponymos* of the ephebic city, but also so endeared himself to his fellow-ephebes by his good-will and zeal on their behalf that they erected a statue of him.[7] The prytanis, **Licinnius Arrianus**, whose name also occurs in the above-mentioned list, was probably his father, and his son may possibly be identified in the **Atticus**, son of Atticus, who was ephebe about 167.[8] Still another member of the family, possibly his uncle, may perhaps be recognized in his fellow-prytanis, **Licinn[i]us Atticus**. Of the remaining prytanes, **Eudemus**, son of Hermeias, is probably the same man as the ζάκορος of Æsculapius of that name, mentioned in an inscription belonging to this century.[9] Still another, **Pomponius**, son of Zo——, may with some likelihood be identified with the Pomponius, son of Zoster, who was ephebe fifteen years earlier, in 124/5.[10] His father's name, consequently, may be restored in this inscription as Zo[ster. Finally we have perhaps a father and son in the two prytanes, **Alcamenes**, son of

[1] *C. I. A.*, II. 985. E.
[2] *C. I. A.*, II. 1972; III. 1642.
[3] *C. I. A.*, III. 1092.
[4] *C. I. A.*, III. 1108.
[5] *C. I. A.*, III. 1023.
[6] *C. I. A.*, III. 735. Compare also Appendix, Table III.
[7] *C. I. A.*, III. 532.
[8] *C. I. A.*, III. 1132.
[9] *C. I. A.*, III. 894 a.
[10] *C. I. A.*, III. 1104.

AΦ|——, and **Aphrodisius,** son of Al——. In the index to *C. I. A.*, III., the latter name is restored as Al[camenes, and I would suggest Aph[rodisius as the restoration of the first of the mutilated names.[1] As nothing further is known of the other prytanes, except **Hermerus,** son of Asmenus,[2] their names will be given only in the general index.

Two years later, in 141/2, another member of the deme, **Poplius Firmus,** held the position of *sophronistes,*[3] and his son may perhaps be recognized[4] in the **Firmus,** son of Firmus, who was *hyposophronistes* in 156/7.[5] In the succeeding year, 157/8, his fellow-demesman **Pardalas,** son of Stephanus, who was ephebe at some time between 129 and 138,[6] held the same office of *hyposophronistes.*[7] Eight years after this, in 165/6, **Eperastus,** son of Firmus, of Gargettus was *sophronistes,*[8] and between the years 166 and 169 **Moschus,** son of Hermerus, served as *antikosmetes.*[9] A little later, shortly after 171 A.D., the position of *kosmetes* was filled by a Gargettian, **Atticus,** son of ——s.[10] About the same time, between 174 and 178, two brothers, **Sabinus** and **Athenodorus,** the sons of Hermerus, were respectively *sophronistes* and *hyposophronistes.*[11] Shortly before 180 their fellow-demesman, **Furius Heraclitus,** who was ephebe in the period between 129 and 138,[12] acted as secretary of the senators.[13] Another Gargettian is perhaps to be recognized in the *kosmetes* **Marcellus** of an inscription that falls between 180 and 192.[14] Though no deme-name is given, he can probably be identified, as Dittenberger suggests, with the ephebe Furius Marcellus of Gargettus of 156/7 A.D.[15] At this period also, between the years 184 and 188, the position of *hyposophronistes* was again held by a member of the deme, **Serapion,** son of S[o]philus.[16]

About the beginning of the next century a Gargettian, **Salbius,**

[1] Dr. Lolling, who very kindly examined the original inscription for me, writes as follows: "Bei Zeile 5 scheinen noch unbedeutende Spuren der Ansätze der runden Linie des P erkennbar."

[2] Compare p. 294.

[3] *C. I. A.*, III. 1112.

[4] Compare p. 293.

[5] *C. I. A.*, III. 1121.

[6] *C. I. A.*, III. 1111.

[7] *C. I. A.*, III. 1122.

[8] *C. I. A.*, III. 1128. Compare also p. 294.

[9] *C. I. A.*, III. 1132. The deme-name is lacking, but Dittenberger, without assigning any reason, supplies Gargettus. Compare p. 295.

[10] *C. I. A.*, III. 1136.

[11] *C. I. A.*, III. 1138. Compare p. 294.

[12] *C. I. A.*, III. 1111.

[13] *C. I. A.*, III. 1043.

[14] *C. I. A.*, III. 1151.

[15] *C. I. A.*, III. 1121. Compare also *C. I. A.*, III. 1148.

[16] *C. I. A.*, III. 1144. Böckh in *C. I. G.* 276, reads Isophilus.

son of Hermerus, was the superintendent who attended to the erection of a statue of Tib. Cl. Appius Atilius Bradua Regillus Atticus Marathonius.[1] His fellow-demesman, **Aurelius Hilarus,** was *sophronistes* between the years 230 and 235,[2] a position that was likewise held by **Aurelius Icadicus** of Gargettus about the middle of the century.[3]

In addition to these men, we have still to consider, before passing to our next group, a number of Gargettians, the period of whose activity can be only approximately determined. Thus in an inscription that falls before the Roman period **Diphilus,** son of Diphilus, is named as choregus,[4] and in another which belongs to the Roman era **Pr]osdocimus,** son of Cy]dadas, appears as *ἀντιγραφεύς*.[5] Their fellow-demesman, **Menon,** is likewise known to have been a prytanis from an inscription that Kumanudes assigns to the middle of the Macedonian period.[6] Then, not earlier than the time of Trajan, **Marcus Ulpius Eubiotus Leurus** was archon *eponymos*.[7] The family to which he belonged was apparently a prominent one at this time, and he especially, to judge from the references to him in the several inscriptions, was highly esteemed and honoured by his fellow-citizens. In a time of famine he furnished food for the people at his own expense, and in addition to other honours the city inscribed a marble chair in the Dionysiac theatre to him and his two sons. His father's name, as we learn from an inscription on a base of Pentelic marble, was **Ulpius Leurus,**[8] and his two sons were called **Marcus Ulpius Flavius Tisamenus**[9] and **Marcus Ulpius Pupes Maximus.**[10] The latter was thesmothete in the same year that his father was archon and was honoured by two portrait statues, erected by private individuals. His brother also held the office of thesmothete and is honourably mentioned in inscriptions erected by the city. Somewhat later, in fact not earlier than the age of Marcus Aurelius, **Marcus Aurelius Cal]liphron,** also called **Frontinus,** son of Calliphron, was archon *eponymos*.[11] His statue was erected by his two sons, **Ma]rcus Herennius Cal]liphron,** also called **Cor]nelianus,** and **Ma]rcus Herennius H——,** also called **Alexandrus.** He is probably identical with the archon Calliphron, son of Calliphron, of another inscription;[12] and

[1] *Mitth.*, VI. p. 310. Compare also p. 295.
[2] *C. I. A.*, III. 1193.
[3] *C. I. A.*, III. 1199.
[4] *C. I. A.*, II. 1258.
[5] *C. I. A.*, III. 3905.
[6] *Eph. Arch.*, 1886, p. 14.
[7] *C. I. A.*, III. 687, 687 a, 688.
[8] *C. I. A.*, III. 685.
[9] *C. I. A.*, III. 688, 689.
[10] *C. I. A.*, III. 688, 690, 691.
[11] *C. I. A.*, III. 698.
[12] *C. I. A.*, III. 697. Compare also Appendix, Table II.

the first mentioned of his sons may possibly be recognized in the archon *eponymos*, Cornelianus, whose name appears elsewhere.[1]

Religion.

Leaving secular matters for the present, we will next consider those members of the deme who were in any way connected with the religion of the state. Under this head we meet first the name of ——clid]es, who was a treasurer of Athena in 367/6 B.C.[2] Some thirty years later, about 334, his fellow-demesman, ——an]drus, figures among the commissioners ᾑρημένοι ἐπὶ τὰς νίκας καὶ τὰ πομπεῖα;[3] and prior to 322 another member of the deme, **Sybarites**, was *hieropoios*.[4] The name of still another Gargettian, ——li]des, occurs in two fragmentary inscriptions, not older than 307/6, that contain the lists of objects handed over by the treasurers of Athena to the succeeding board.[5] From the context we evidently have here the record of a crown that was given to this man and by him probably dedicated to the goddess.

During the remaining three hundred years before our era, we know of but two members of the deme whose names are associated with religious matters. In the first part of the second century, **Agiadas** was *hieropoios* at the Ptolemæa,[6] and at the beginning of the first century ——s, daughter of A——on, was one of the maidens who prepared the wool for the peplus of Athena.[7]

In the second century after Christ, however, the deme again becomes prominent. From a fragment of Pentelic marble found at the south foot of the acropolis, we learn that **Fu[rius M]arcellus** of Gargettus was high priest.[8] Two men of this name are known from inscriptions. The elder of these was ephebe in 157 A.D., and *kosmetes* between 180 and 192[9] in the same year in which his son was ephebe,[10] but to which of the two this inscription refers appears uncertain. In this century also, as we learn from an inscription in honour of the daughter of Herodes Atticus, **Eudemus**, son of Hermeias,[11] and **Euangelus**, son of Demetrius, held respectively the office of ζάκορος and ὑποζάκορος of Æsculapius.[12] In the latter half of the century, **Nummia Bassa**, daughter of the *hierokeryx* **Lucius Nummius** of Gargettus, with

[1] *C. I. A.*, III. 699.
[2] *C. I. A.*, II. 677.
[3] *C. I. A.*, II. 739.
[4] *Athen.*, VI. p. 483.
[5] *C. I. A.*, II. 731, 732.
[6] *C. I. A.*, II. 953.
[7] *Mitth.*, VIII. p. 58, Beilage.
[8] *C. I. A.*, III. 696 a.
[9] Compare p. 282.
[10] *C. I. A.*, III. 1148, 1149.
[11] Compare p. 281.
[12] *C. I. A.*, III. 894 a.

her husband dedicated a statue of her daughter, Nummia Cleo.[1] Her father's full name is known, from two other inscriptions, to have been Lucius Nummius Nigrinus.[2]

His fellow-demesman **G——**, son of ——orus, is named as priest of Apollo Patroös for life in an honorary inscription that falls between the years 126 and 270.[3] Next in a list of *orgeones* of about 200 A.D., there appear the names of two Gargettians, **Hermerus**, son of Asmenus, and **Primigenes**, son of Primigenes.[4] In the same inscription, among the annual priestesses who had made large expenditures is **Glyce**, daughter of Hermerus, of Gargettus. She, as well as the *orgeon* Hermerus, belonged to a well-known Gargettian family of which I shall again have occasion to speak.[5] Finally, in an inscription of the time of the emperors, we find the name of **Hierophantes** of Gargettus, who was formerly called **Firmus**.[6] It is possible that, as Böckh suggests,[7] he assumed this name after having held the position of hierophant.[8]

In addition to these men, a number of Gargettians who were connected with the religion of the state, are known from inscriptions of the Roman period that cannot be accurately dated. Among them we find as dedicator of some object to Athena Archegetis and the gods Sebastoi, **——es**, the adopted son of Hermo[gene]s and natural son of the Marathonian Demetrius.[9] He is, perhaps, to be identified, as Dittenberger suggests, with the person mentioned on a sepulchral inscription that was seen and copied by Cyriacus.[10] His fellow-demesman, **Dem]etrius**, son of Chares, is also mentioned as dedicator in another inscription.[11]

To those who held priestly office, we have to add **Cl[a]udia Tatarion**, daughter of Menandrus;[12] **Lici[n]nius Firmu[s**;[13] **Claudia Timothea**, daughter of Timotheus;[14] and **Nicostratus**, son of ——, who was priest

[1] *C. I. A.*, III. 904, 905.
[2] *C. I. A.*, III. 660, 1283.
[3] *C. I. A.*, III. 707.
[4] *C. I. A.*, III. 1280 a.
[5] Compare pp. 294 and 295.
[6] *C. I. A.*, III. 1282.
[7] *C. I. G.*, 384.
[8] The name Ἱεροφάντης is unusual, but occurs once in *C. I. A.*, II. 949, and three times in *C. I. A.*, II. 1047. The phrase, ὁ ποτέ, is, so far as I am aware, not found elsewhere, but is, of course, modelled after the well-known formula, ὁ καί.
[9] *C. I. A.*, III. 66. In *Mitth.*, VII. p. 399, Dessau claims to have found a third fragment of this inscription on the acropolis. According to his proposed restoration there were two dedicators, [Hermogenes], son of ——e]s, and ——es, son of Hermo[genes], namely, the father and his adopted son.
[10] *C. I. A.*, III. 1645.
[11] *C. I. A.*, III. 68 d.
[12] *C. I. A.*, III. 218.
[13] *C. I. A.*, III. 721 a.
[14] *C. I. A.*, III. 828, and possibly 899.

for life.[1] Because of the fact that Firmus was ἱερεὺς πυρφόρος ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως, Dittenberger has suggested that he may be identical with the Firmus of *Anthologia Græca*, 322. The last Gargettian that we have to mention in this connection is **Apollodora**, daughter of Apollod[orus, one of the *arrhephoroi*, whose name occurs in an honorary inscription erected by the senate and the people.[2]

Navy.

Turning once more to secular matters, we find a number of Gargettians to have been active in naval affairs. The first to be noted under this head are the trierarchs **Archestra]tus**[3] and **Epicrates**, whose names occur in an inscription of 377/6 B.C.[4] Their fellow-demesman **Timonides** is also named as trierarch in two inscriptions, of which one belongs to the year 373/2.[5] In this year the superintendent of dockyards for the Ægeid tribe was **Phanostra[tus.**[6] Though the deme-name is lacking, he is probably, as Böckh has suggested, a Gargettian, and grandfather of the trierarch **Ph]anostratus** of that deme. The latter, with his fellow-trierarch Hieron of Sphettus, figures in an inscription of 353/2 among those who had been acquitted in court and had handed over the equipments of their triremes.[7] From two fragmentary inscriptions that belong to the same period — namely, to the years following 357/6 — we learn that two members of the deme, ——**a]ndrus**[8] and ——**nios**,[9] were respectively trierarch and the head of a *symmoria*.

Somewhat later, in 342/1, another Gargettian, **Lycinus**, is recorded as having made a payment of 156 drachmas on the Agathonice.[10] Next, from an inscription of 334/3 that records the transfer of property made by the superintendents of dockyards, we learn that **Archicles**, son of Archestratus, was one of the two trierarchs of the Hippagogus; that **Apollodorus** was fellow-trierarch with the Anagyrasian Æschræus on the new trireme Iousa; and that **Lysippides**, son of Pasicles, was trierarch of the Delphis.[11] The second of these men is probably identical with the Gargettian Apollodorus, son of Diophanes, who figures in three inscriptions of 330/29, 326/5, and

[1] *C. I. A.*, III. 922.
[2] *C. I. A.*, III. 918.
[3] Compare p. 293.
[4] *C. I. A.*, II. 791.
[5] *C. I. A.*, II. 790. b, 792. a.
[6] *C. I. A.*, III. 789. a. 1.
[7] *C. I. A.*, II. 795. f. Compare also p. 293.
[8] *C. I. A.*, II. 798. c. 59.
[9] *C. I. A.*, II. 799. b. 39.
[10] *C. I. A.*, II. 803. e. 111.
[11] *C. I. A.*, II. 804. a. 18, B. b. 48 and 59.

325/4, respectively, as trierarch of the horse-transport triremè, Gnome, condemned as useless for war.[1] In the inscription of 326/5 he is mentioned a second time as trierarch of some vessel of which the name is lost,[2] and in that of 325/4 as trierarch of the Euphemia.[3] In the inscription of 326/5 just cited, Lysippides, son of Pasicles, is also referred to twice, once simply under the name of Ly[sippides of Gargettus.[4]

In the above-mentioned inscription of 325/4 another member of the deme, **Phano]stratus**, son of Archestra[tus, is recorded as having served as trierarch.[5] He and Ameinias the Hagnusian were the successors of the trierarchs under whom the Hegemone had been lost in a storm. Phanostratus and Ameinias put in a claim to that effect, which was supported by the court, and consequently the entire loss was thrown on the state. He is again mentioned in this inscription among those who owed the beaks of vessels to the state.[6] The last Gargettian whom we have to note under this head is ——**lias**, who is recorded in an inscription of 323/2 as owing materials for the equipment of the vessel Æthiopia.[7]

Ephebes.

Having thus completed our survey of the Gargettians that served the state in official positions, we have next to consider those whose names appear in the inscriptions as ephebes. Since the majority of these men are not otherwise known, their names will be presented in tabulated form.

NAME.[8]	NAME OF FATHER.	DATE.
——	Dio[nysi]us	305/4 B.C.
——s	——tus	do.
——	Zo[p]yrus	276/5 B.C.
——andrus	Phalanthus	do.

[1] *C. I. A.*, II. 807. b. 51, 808. d. 8, 809. d. 10.

[2] *C. I. A.*, II. 808. a. 158.

[3] *C. I. A.*, II. 809. a. 25.

[4] *C. I. A.*, II. 808. a. 25 and 144. Compare also *C. I. A.*, II. 809. c. 243.

[5] *C. I. A.*, II. 809. d. 56. Compare also *C. I. A.*, II. 811. b. 106.

[6] *C. I. A.*, II. 809. d. 123. Compare also *C. I. A.*, II. 811. b. 175, and p. 293.

[7] *C. I. A.*, II. 811. d. 153.

[8] The inscriptions in which the several names occur can be found by reference to the general catalogue at the end of this paper.

Name.	Name of Father.	Date.
Glaucus	Glaucias	End of second century B.C.[1]
Theophilus	Apollonius	do.
Sil]a[n]us	Sil]anus	First half of first century B.C.[1]
Mnesicles	Mnesicles	69–62 B.C.[1]
—— ——on	Pharnacus	48–42 B.C.
Ari]stides Al]exidemus	Aristides	About 14 A.D.
E]picurus	Asclepiodorus	do.
——e]s		do.
Lenæus		37/8 A.D.
——	——tus	61 A.D.
Artemon	Callias	81–96 A.D.
Gaius	Gaius	do.
Eublastus	Diotimus	do.
——ton		98–117 A.D.
Menandrus	Menandrus	do.
Sotion		do.
Gaius		do.
Vipsanius		do.
Or]entes	Gaius	About the end of first century A.D.
Theophrastus	Theophrastus	do.
Chæreas	Chæreas	do.
Socrates	Eleusinius	do.
——des		About 112 A.D.
Diogen[es Carpodoru[s	Diogenes	Shortly after 110 A.D.
Nicocrates	Aphrodisius	do.
Pappus Pomponius[3]	Zoster	About 124/5 A.D.
Epaphrion	Seuthes[4]	do.

[1] According to the chronology, however, which Homolle has elaborated in his paper, "Remarques sur la chronologie de quelques archontes athéniens", *Bull. de corr. hell.*, XVII. pp. 151–165, Glaucus and Theophilus were ephebes in 103/2, Silanus in 122/1, and Mnesicles in 107/6.

[2] In this list, for convenience of reference, the names of brothers who served as ephebes in the same year will be bracketed, and the father's name and the date will be given but once.

[3] Compare p. 281.

[4] Böckh in *C. I. G.*, 270, reads Iseuthes.

NAME.	NAME OF FATHER.	DATE.
Gn. Licinnius Atticus[1]	Licinnius Arrianus	126/7 A.D.
Furius Heraclitus[2]		129–138 A.D.
Pardalas[2]	Stephanus	do.
Pomponius Eperastus[3]		do.
——	——us	Last years of Hadrian.
Claudius Herennius		141/2 A.D.
Agathemerus[4]	Firmus	do.
F]austinus	[Faustinus]	do.
——l-mus		do.
Chariton	Eros	do.
Epigonus	Eucarpus	144/5 A.D.
Demetri[us ——s	Demetrius	147/8 A.D.
——	——us	do.
Menodorus	Epigonus	150/1 A.D.
Sabinus[5]	Hermeru[s	do.
Artemon	Artemon	151/2 A.D.
Athenodorus[6]	Hermerus	do.
Furius Marcellus[7]		156/7 A.D.
Athenion	Athenion	do.
Aphrodisius Mysticus	Mysticus	do.
Dositheus		157/8 A.D.
Gaius Boussenus Dionysiu[s		do.
Gaius Boussenus Tychicus		do.
Aurelius Epaphrodi[t]us	S——	165/6 A.D.
Menandrus[8]	Eperastus	do.
Firmus[9]	Firmus	do.
Straton	Epigonus	do.
Arisemus Zosimus Alexis	Carpodorus	do.
Euphranor	Anthesphorus	do.
Primigenes	Nicias	do.
Dionysodorus	Primus	do.
Mysticus	Satyrus	do.
Hermogenes[10] Heracon Zosimus	Hermogenes	do.

[1] Compare p. 281.
[2] Compare p. 282.
[3] Compare p. 294.
[4] Compare p. 293.
[5] Compare p. 294.
[6] Compare p. 294.
[7] Compare pp. 282 and 284.
[8] Compare p. 294.
[9] Compare p. 293.
[10] He is probably the same man as

Name.	Name of Father.	Date.
Pomponius Menecles		165/6 A.D.
——s		About 165/6 A.D.
——		166–169 A.D.
——	——ius	do.
——	——us	do.
——	Tele]sphorus	do.
——		do.
Atticus[1]	Atticus	do.
Sabinus[2]	Sabinus	174–178 A.D.
Athenodorus[3]	Athenodorus	do.
T]rophimus	Zopyrus	do.
A]ntoninus	Philumenus	do.
Epaphrion	Chrysippus	do.
Primus[4]	Primus	About 180 A.D.
Artemon[5]	Menodorus	184–188 A.D.
Hermerus[6]	A[smenus	185–192 A.D.
Pisandrus		180–192 A.D.
Furius Marcus		do.
Furius Marcellus[7]		do.
Agathocles	Atticus	192/3 A.D.
——n Epicurianus		do.
Eucarpus	Euangelus	190–200 A.D.
Isidor[u]s	Scymnus	do.
Aphrodisius	Megistodorus	197–208 A.D.
Licinnius Callistomachus		do.
——	N]icon	do.
Aurelius Atticus		Later than 212/13 A.D.
Aurelius Patroclus[8]	Calliphron	230–235 A.D.
Aurelius Onesimus		254/5, 258/9, or 262/3 A.D.
Euphiletus	Diodot[us	Roman period.

the Hermogenes, son of Hermogenes, of Gargettus, whose name occurs in a sepulchral inscription recently found at Athens and published in *Mitth.*, XVII. p. 275.

[1] Compare p. 281.

[2] Compare p. 294.

[3] Compare p. 294.

[4] His father is possibly identical with the prytanis, **Primus**, son of Protimus, of the year 139/40. Compare *C. I. A.*, III. 1023.

[5] The deme-name is broken, but Böckh, in *C. I. G.*, 276, restores it as Garget]tius.

[6] The deme-name is not given, but he was probably a Gargettian. Compare p. 294.

[7] Compare p. 284.

[8] The deme-name is not given, but in the index to *C. I. A.*, III., he appears as a Gargettian. He was agonothete for the Epinicia.

A number of these men, however, require some words of comment before the subject can be dismissed. The ephebes, ——, son of ——tus,[1] of 61 A.D., and **Claudius Herennius**[2] of 141/2 A.D., are known to have been gymnasiarchs; and ——**des**, who served about 112, filled this position for eleven months.[3] The fact that **Gnæus Licinnius Atticus** not only held this office, but was also the archon *eponymos* of the ephebes has been already spoken of.[4] Next, in 147/8 the brothers **Demetri**[**us** and ——**s** served as agonothetes.[5] Their father can probably be identified with the **Demetrius**, son of Demetrius, who was prytanis in 139/40.[6] Three years later, in 150/1, **Menodorus**, son of Epigonus, was gymnasiarch for the month Munychion,[7] and six years after this **Furius Marcellus** not only filled this office, but was also agonothete for the Antinoea in Eleusis.[8] In the following year, 157/8, **Dositheus** was polemarch, and, conjointly with the king archon, held the position of gymnasiarch for one month.[9] The latter office was also filled for one month by **Aurelius Epaphrodi**[**t**]**us**, son of S——, in 165/6;[10] by **Sabinus**, son of Sabinus, who was ephebe between 174 and 178;[11] and by **Artemon**, son of Menodorus, who served between 184 and 188.[12] At this same period, between 180 and 192, **Pisandrus** was agonothete for the Antinoea at Eleusis,[13] and, finally, between 197 and 208 A.D., ——, son of N]icon, was also agonothete.[14]

Not only, however, were the ephebes of Gargettus prominent in this respect, but they also counted among their numbers some excellent athletes. In an inscription of 165/6 the ephebe **Arisemus**, son of Carpodorus, is recorded as having been crowned for his victory in the long race at the Antinoea at Eleusis.[15] His fellow-ephebe **Mysticus**, son of Satyrus, is recorded as victorious in the *diaulos* at the same games and also at the Hadrianea and at the Antinoea in the city.[16] The younger **Furius Marcellus**,[17] who was ephebe between 180 and 192, was agonothete for the Antinoea at Eleusis and one of

[1] *C. I. A.*, III. 1085.
[2] *C. I. A.*, III. 1112.
[3] *C. I. A.*, III. 1094.
[4] Compare p. 281.
[5] *C. I. A.*, III. 1114.
[6] *C. I. A.*, III. 1023.
[7] *C. I. A.*, III. 1119.
[8] *C. I. A.*, III. 1121.
[9] *C. I. A.*, III. 1122.
[10] *C. I. A.*, III. 1128.
[11] *C. I. A.*, III. 1138. Compare also p. 294.
[12] *C. I. A.*, III. 1144.
[13] *C. I. A.*, III. 1147.
[14] *C. I. A.*, III. 1174.
[15] *C. I. A.*, III. 1129.
[16] Mysticus is here named as belonging to the deme, Myrrhinus, probably, as Dittenberger has pointed out, by mistake. In the official list of ephebes for the year, *C. I. A.*, III. 1128, his deme is given as Gargettus.
[17] Compare p. 284.

the three agonothetes τοῦ περὶ ἁλκῆς.[1] If, as seems probable, he be identical with the Marcellus whose name appears in a list of the victors among the ephebes of this year, his record was an enviable one, for this Marcellus is twice named as victor in the first class[2] in the stadium, once in the encomium, and, in the second class in wrestling, once as victor and twice as tying with another ephebe for first place.[3] The last ephebe of whom we shall speak is his companion **Furius Marcus.** This youth, who was possibly the son of **Furius Marcus** of Gargettus, a prytanis of the year 139/40,[4] was likewise one of the three agonothetes τοῦ περὶ ἁλκῆς, and also figures in the above-mentioned list of victors, once as victor in the second class in wrestling, and once as tying with Marcellus for the first place.

Private Individuals.

To complete our survey of the individual members of the deme, we have still to consider certain Gargettians about whom, though they held no official position, inscriptions have preserved an interesting record. The first to be noted under this head is the contributor **Pyrrhinus.**[5] About 180 B.C. he subscribed on behalf of his mother and himself to some object which, by reason of the mutilation of the inscription, is unfortunately no longer known.

The only member of the deme whom we chance to find resident abroad is **Cleopatra,** daughter of Nicandrus, whose name occurs in a sepulchral inscription found at Imbros.[6] Her fellow-demeswoman **Xenar[i]ste,** daughter of Pythodorus, is known from an inscription of 303/2 B.C. found at Spata.[7] It marked the boundary of certain lands and houses, mortgaged by her father as a guarantee of her dowry. The mortgage covered one-half of the dowry plus eighteen per cent, and amounted to 2720 drachmas. Passing over to the Roman period, we learn from a basis of Hymettian marble that a statue of the Gargettian **Asandrus,** son of Irenæus, was erected by Phædrus of Berenicidæ.[8] We possess no information as to the causes that led to this dedication, and consequently can form no opinion of the position held by Asandrus. And, finally, an epigram inscribed on a fragment of a Hermes informs us that his fellow-

[1] *C. I. A.*, III. 1149.
[2] Compare Dumont, *Essai sur l'éphébie attique*, p. 215 *sqq.*
[3] *C. I. A.*, III. 1148.
[4] *C. I. A.*, III. 1023.
[5] *C. I. A.*, II. 983. ii. 126.
[6] *Bull. de corr. hell.*, XIII. p. 432.
[7] *C. I. A.*, II. 1137.
[8] *C. I. A.*, III. 799.

demesman **Craton**, son of Quint[ianus, was "a healer of diseases" and a worthy man, and that in the stone Hermes his features are preserved.[1]

Families.

Our survey of the individual members of the deme is thus brought to a close, since the remaining names that have been preserved are at present suitable only for a catalogue. Many of the men, however, of whom we have previously spoken, were members not only of the same deme, but also of the same family. The majority of these relationships have already been discussed, but a few still await our consideration.

The first family of whom we shall treat can apparently be traced through three generations.[2] Its members whose names have come down to us were all interested in naval affairs. Phanostratus, who was superintendent of dockyards in 373/2 B.C., represents the first generation.[3] He was probably the father of Archestratus, who was trierarch in 377/6;[3] and, as has been already pointed out, grandfather of the trierarch Phanostratus of 353/2.[3] This conclusion is both suggested and supported by the fact that Phanostratus, son of Archestratus, is recorded in an inscription of 325/4 as having served as trierarch.[4] This man and his father, then, we would identify with the trierarchs Phanostratus and Archestratus, above mentioned. Still another member of the family, possibly the brother of this Phanostratus, may perhaps be recognized in Archicles, son of Archestratus, who was trierarch in 334/3.[5]

The next family to be considered belongs to the second century of the Christian era.[6] The first of its members that is known was Poplius Firmus, who was *sophronistes* in 141/2 A.D.[7] As has been previously suggested, his son can probably be identified in Firmus, son of Firmus, a *hyposophronistes* of the year 156/7.[7] This man's son in turn, who would represent the third generation, may be recognized in Firmus, son of Firmus, who was ephebe nine years later, in 165/6.[8] In addition to these men several other members of the family are perhaps known. In the first place, Agathemerus, son of Firmus, who was ephebe in the same year that Poplius Firmus was *sophronistes*, was quite probably the latter's son and the brother of the

[1] *C. I. A.*, III. 1327.
[2] Compare Appendix, Table I.
[3] Compare p. 286.
[4] Compare p. 287.
[5] Compare p. 286.
[6] Compare Appendix, Table IV.
[7] Compare p. 282.
[8] Compare p. 289.

hyposophronistes Firmus.[1] We have also, possibly, a record of a third brother in an inscription of 165/6 in which Eperastus, son of Firmus, is named as *sophronistes*.[2] Finally in the ephebe Menandrus, son of Eperastus, of the same inscription we may perhaps recognize this man's son,[3] and it is barely possible that he himself is identical with the Pomponius Eperastus who was ephebe between 129 and 138 A.D.[4]

The third and last family that requires consideration also belongs to the second century of this era and can be traced through four generations.[5] The first is represented by Asmenus, who is known to us only as the father of Hermerus.[6] The grandson and son of the latter, who was prytanis in 139/40 A.D.,[6] are known from an inscription of about 200, in which the name of Hermerus, son of Asmenus, appears in a list of *orgeones*.[7] This man is probably identical, as Dittenberger has pointed out,[8] with the Hermerus, son of A——, who was an ephebe of the Ægeid tribe between 185 and 192.[9] The name of the ephebe's father, therefore, may be restored as A[smenus.

In addition to this Asmenus, five other children of the prytanis Hermerus can perhaps be recognized in the various inscriptions. The first of these, if we consider them in order according to the dates of the inscriptions in which their names occur, is Sabinus, son of Hermerus, who was ephebe in 150/1.[10] This man is also known from an inscription that falls between 174 and 178 to have served as *sophronistes*,[11] and his son can possibly be identified in the ephebe Sabinus, son of Sabinus, of the same inscription.[12] The next brother must have been a year younger, for Athenodorus, son of Hermerus, is named as one of the ephebes for the year 151/2.[13] This man held the office of *hyposophronistes* in the same year that his brother was *sophronistes*,[11] and one of the ephebes of that year, Athenodorus, son of Athenodorus, was perhaps his son and, therefore, the cousin of the ephebe Sabinus.[14] Another son of his is possibly to be identified in an inscription that falls between 185 and 192.[15] At the latter

[1] Compare p. 289.
[2] Compare p. 282.
[3] Compare p. 289.
[4] Compare p. 289.
[5] Compare Appendix, Table V.
[6] Compare p. 282.
[7] Compare p. 285.
[8] Compare index of proper names to *C. I. A.*, III., and explanatory text to *C. I. A.*, III. 1280 a.
[9] *C. I. A.*, III. 1145. Compare p. 290.
[10] Compare p. 289.
[11] Compare p. 282.
[12] Compare p. 290.
[13] Compare p. 289.
[14] Compare p. 290.
[15] *C. I. A.*, III. 1145.

date Athenodorus would have been only fifty-nine years of age, and consequently might well have had a son old enough to be ephebe at any time during these seven years. This we will assume to have been the case, and I would then identify this son with **Salbius**, son of Ath———, who is named among the ephebes of the Ægeid tribe in the inscription just mentioned.[1] This identification is supported by the fact that we find the same name borne by a Gargettian, possibly his uncle, of whom I shall speak presently.

A third son of the prytanis Hermerus may perhaps be recognized in Moschus, son of Hermerus, who was *antikosmetes* between 166 and 169.[2] It was no doubt the possibility of this relationship that led Dittenberger to supply Gargettus as the name of his deme.[3] Finally in Salbius, son of Hermerus, who filled the office of superintendent about 200, we probably have a fourth brother after whom the above-mentioned ephebe, Salbius, son of Ath[enodorus, was named.[4] The fifth and last of the children of Hermerus of whom any record has been preserved is the priestess Glyce, daughter of Hermerus, whose name appears in an inscription of about 200 A.D.[5]

Leaving the Gargettians themselves, we have next to consider the position occupied by the deme in the Attic world. That its place in the Ægeid tribe was one of importance is readily seen from the lists of prytanes of that tribe. Of four such lists that are known to us one falls in the period in which Gargettus belonged to the tribe Antigonis, and therefore need not be considered here. The earliest of the remaining three, which belongs to the middle of the fourth century B.C., is unfortunately incomplete.[6] In this we have the names of 31 prytanes as the representatives of 12 demes. Of these Halæ comes first with 5 representatives, and Phegæa and Gargettus press close behind with 4 each. In the second list, which belongs to the year 341/0 B.C. and is unbroken, 20 demes are represented.[7] Erchia, one of the missing demes in the first inscription, has the largest representation with 6 prytanes. Icaria and Halæ stand next with 5 each, and Gargettus and *Teithrasioi* are third with 4 each. In the third list, of which the date is 139/40 A.D., and in which only 8 demes appear, a very great change in the position of

[1] The restoration of the father's name as Ath[enodorus has not, so far as I am aware, been previously proposed. Compare, however, the remarks of Dr. Lolling in *Mitth.*, VI. p. 311.

[2] Compare p. 282.

[3] Compare p. 282, footnote 9.

[4] Compare pp. 282 and 283.

[5] Compare p. 285; *Mitth.*, VI. p. 311; and the explanatory text to *C. I. A.*, III. 1280 a.

[6] *C. I. A.*, II. 870.

[7] *C. I. A.*, II. 872.

Gargettus is noticeable.[1] Instead of standing third it is now prominently first with 22 out of the 40 prytanes whose names are given.

In this connection an examination of the lists of ephebes of the Ægeid tribe will also prove of interest.[2] In four ephebic inscriptions that fall within the hundred years immediately preceding 40 B.C., we find the names of 40 ephebes, of whom 6 were Gargettians. The smallest representation, 1 ephebe out of 10, occurs in a list that belongs to the first half of the first century;[3] and the largest, 2 out of 8, in one that falls between the years 48 and 42.[4] In the first century of our era Gargettus furnished 16 out of the 36 ephebes whose names appear in the four inscriptions that are known to us. The smallest number, 4 out of 14, occurs in a list of about 14 A.D.[5] and the largest toward the end of the century, when all of the ephebes for the year, 4 in number, were Gargettians.[6] Finally, from eleven inscriptions of the second century A.D., we learn that 43 out of the 84 ephebes whose names are recorded were Gargettians. The largest delegations, 4 ephebes out of 5, 15 out of 18, 2 out of 2, and 2 out of 3, are found in inscriptions respectively of 156/7, 165/6, 192/3, and in one that falls between 190 and 200.[7] The smallest representation, on the other hand, occurs in two inscriptions that belong, the one between 166 and 169, the other to the year 171/2. In the former,[8] out of 20 ephebes 6 only were from Gargettus, and in the latter[9] 2 ephebes are named, neither of whom came from that deme.

As to the position of Gargettus in Attica, outside of its own tribe, some idea can be formed from the number and the importance of the official positions held by its members. These have already been discussed in detail, but, for convenience of reference, a summarized statement of them is here given: 4 archons *eponymoi*, 1 king archon, 3 thesmothetes, 1 president of the *prædroi*, 31 prytanes, 5 movers of decrees, 1 secretary of the prytany, 1 secretary of the senators, 3 superintendents, 1 commissioner, 1 arbitrator, 5 *sophronistai*, 4 *hyposophronistai*, 2 *kosmetai*, 1 *antikosmetes*, 1 *hypokosmetes*, 1 secretary of a commission, 1 ἀντιγραφεύς, 1 choregus, 2 *parasitoi*, 1 superintendent of dockyards, 11 trierarchs, 1 treasurer of Athena, 1 sec-

[1] *C. I. A.*, III. 1023.

[2] Only those inscriptions in which the deme-names are given and, with one exception, those which are unbroken will be considered.

[3] *C. I. A.*, II. 469.

[4] *C. I. A.*, II. 481. This is the incomplete list mentioned in footnote 2.

[5] *C. I. A.*, III. 1076.

[6] *C. I. A.*, III. 1093.

[7] *C. I. A.*, III. 1121, 1128, 1160, 1163.

[8] *C. I. A.*, III. 1132.

[9] *C. I. A.*, III. 1133.

retary of the treasurers of Athena, 1 high priest, 3 priests, 3 priestesses, 2 *orgeones*, 1 *hierokeryx*, 2 *hieropoioi*, 1 ζάκορος, 1 ὑποζάκορος.

Such, then, are the materials from which our knowledge of this deme is derived. Incomplete and unsatisfactory to a certain extent they undoubtedly are, but yet quite sufficient to enable us to draw certain general conclusions.

In a previous investigation of the deme Erchia I found that the names of 239 members of that deme had been preserved, of whom 64, or very nearly 27 per cent, held official positions. In the case of Gargettus, on the other hand, the names of 421 individuals are known of whom 94, or slightly more than 22 per cent, were officially connected with the government, the religion, or the navy. The relative position of the two demes, however, was not exactly such as one might infer from a superficial glance at these figures; for, in reality, each in turn held the more prominent position. The period of Erchia's greatest activity was the latter half of the fifth and the two succeeding centuries before Christ. On the other hand, we know of but two Gargettians that lived in the fifth century, and these both filled very unimportant offices. In the fourth century, however, to judge from the evidence at hand, the deme was quite prominent, but even at this time, as the above-mentioned list of prytanes for 341/0 shows,[1] its position was subordinate to that of Erchia.

Before the beginning of the next century, a striking change in its position had taken place, and during the succeeding four hundred years only five Gargettians are known to have held official positions. What produced this great inactivity among the members of the deme it is difficult to imagine. Its transfer to the tribe Antigonis may possibly be in part responsible for the change, but without other causes it would scarcely seem that this could have had such lasting results. During the last hundred years of this period — that is to say, during the first century of the Christian era — as is shown by the ephebic lists,[2] the deme began to recover gradually from this extreme depression. And in the following century, as I have already pointed out in discussing the lists of prytanes,[3] and as is further proven by the ephebic lists[4] and by the numerous official positions held by its members at this time, it attained a position of very great importance.

An interesting feature of this period of prosperity is the large number of Gargettians that have Roman names, a thing that is

[1] Compare p. 295.
[2] Compare p. 296.
[3] Compare pp. 295 and 296.
[4] Compare p. 296.

entirely unknown among the Erchians. This fact, moreover, furnishes a possible clue to the change in the importance of the deme's position, for we may well imagine that this was but one of the outward manifestations of a spirit that lead the Gargettians to curry favour with the Romans by servile imitation of their manners and customs. Whereas, then, Erchia was most flourishing in the period when Attica was at its zenith, but when Hellas was robbed of her freedom, gradually lost all prominence until its glory was but a thing of the past; Gargettus, a deme of much less importance in the halcyon days of Greece, appears to have bowed beneath the yoke of captivity, and by slavish imitation of its conquerors to have acquired a new and higher position in the state. An imaginative theory, it is true, but one that is not entirely without its foundation of facts.

CATALOGUE OF GARGETTIANS.

All references are to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, unless it be otherwise stated. The following abbreviations are used: b., brother; d., daughter; f., father; m., mother; s, son. For greater convenience of reference, the Greek names have simply been transliterated.

Ag]asi[p]pos, secretary of a commission, I. 294.
Agathemeros, s. of Phirmos, ephebe, III. 1112.
Agathokles, s. of Attikos, ephebe, III. 1160.
Agiadas, *hieropoios*, II. 953.
Aischylides, f. of Philonides, II. 1975.
Alexandros, s. of M[emno]n, prytanis, III. 1023.
Al]exidemos, s. of Aristeides, ephebe, III. 1076.
Alexis, s. of Karpodoros, ephebe, III. 1128, 1129.
Alkamenes, s. of Aph[rodeisios, f. of Aphrodeisios, prytanis, III. 1023.
Andron, s. of Androtion, Plat., *Gorg.* 487 C, *Prot.* 315 C; f. of Androtion, Ditt., *Sylloge*, 101; Suidas, s. 'Ανδροτίων.[1]
Androtion, f. of Andron, Plat., *Gorg.* 487 C, *Prot.* 315 C.[1]
Androtion, s. of Andron, mover of decree, Ditt., *Sylloge*, 101; Suidas, s. 'Ανδροτίων; Dem., 22.[1]
Anthesphoros, f. of Euphranor, III. 1128.
Antipatros, f. of Kleopatra, II. 1967.
Antitheos, f. of Kritylla, Aristophanes, *Thesm.*, 898.
A]ntoneinos, s. of Philoumenos, ephebe, III. 1138.
A]phrodeisios, III. 1948.
Aph[rodeisios, f. of Alkamenes, III. 1023.
Aphrodeisios, s. of Al[kamenes, prytanis, III. 1023.
Aphrodeisios, s. of Megistodo(ros), ephebe, III. 1171.
Aphrodisios, s. of Mystikos, ephebe, III. 1121.

[1] Compare p. 279.

Aphrodisios, f. of Nikokrates, III. 1100.
Apollodora, d. of Apollod[oros, *arrephoros*, III. 918.
Apollod[oros, f. of Apollodora, III. 918.
Apollodoros, s. of Diophanes, trierarch, II. 804. B. b, II. 807. b, II. 808. a and d, II. 809. a and d.
Apollodotos, f. of Demetrios, III. 1634.
Apollonios, f. of Theophilos, II. 465.
Archestratos, trierarch, II. 791; f. of Archikles, II. 804. a; f. of Phano]stratos, II. 809. d, II. 811. b.
Archikles, s. of Archestratos, trierarch, II. 804. a.
Ar[e]sias, s. of Pausias, prytanis, II. 872.
Arisemos, s. of Karpodoros, ephebe, III. 1128, 1129.
Aristeides, f. of Ari]steides and of Al]exidemos, III. 1076.
Ari]steides, s. of Aristeides, ephebe, III. 1076.
Aristoboulos, s. of Neokles, b. of Epikouros. Diog. Laert., *Vit. Phil.*, 10. 2.
Ar]iston, f. of Pa]ntakl[es, II. 1972, III. 1642.
Ariston, s. of P[antakl]es, king archon, II. 985. E.[1]
Likinnios Arrianos, f. of Gn. Likinnios Attikos, III. 735; prytanis, III. 1023.
Artemon, f. of Artemon, III. 1120.
Artemon, s. of Artemon, ephebe, III. 1120.
Artemon, s. of Kallias, ephebe, III. 1091.
Artemon, s. of Menodoros, ephebe, III. 1144.[2]
Asandros, s. of Eirenaios, III. 799.
Likinnios Asklepiades, prytanis, III. 1023.
Asklepiodoros, f. of Asklepiodoros, III. 1023.
Asklepiodoros, s. of Asklepiodoros, prytantis, III. 1023.
Asklepiodoros, f. of E]pikouros, III. 1076.
Asmenos, f. of Hermeros, III. 1023.
Asmenos, f. of Hermeros, III. 1280 a, III. 1145.[3]
Athenion, f. of Athenion, III. 1121.
Athenion, s. of Athenion, ephebe, III. 1121.
Athenodoros, s. of Hermeros, ephebe, III. 1120; f. of Athenodoros, *hyposophronistes*, III. 1138; f. of Salbios, III. 1145.[4]
Athenodoros, s. of Athenodoros, ephebe, III. 1138.
Aur(elios) Attikos, ephebe, III. 1180.
Likinn[i]os Attikos, prytanis, III. 1023.
Gn. Likinnios Attikos, s. of Likinnios Arrianos, ephebe, III. 735; prytanis, III. 1023; superintendent, III. 532; f. of Attikos, III. 1132.[5]
Attikos, s. of Attikos, ephebe, III. 1132.
Attikos, f. of Agathokles, III. 1160.
Attikos, s. of ——s, *kosmetes*, III. 1136.
Bakchylos, f. of Eutychia, III. 1635 a.
Noummia Bassa, d. of Loukios Noummios, dedicator, III. 904, 905, 1283.
Biottos, s. of Eudikos, *Delt. Arch.*, 1890, p. 82.

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[1] Compare pp. 280 and 281.
[2] Compare p. 290, footnote 5.
[3] Compare p. 294.
[4] Compare pp. 294 and 295.
[5] Compare p. 281.

Chaireas, f. of Chaireas, III. 1093.
Chaireas, s. of Chaireas, ephebe, III. 1093.
Chairedemos, s. of Neokles, b. of Epikouros, Diog. Laert., *Vit. Phil.*, 10. 2.
Chairephon, f. of Olympias, II. 1971,
Chairephon, f. of ——s, *Bull. corr. hell.*, IX. p. 58.
Chairion, f. of Chairippe, II. 1976.
Chairippe, d. of Chairion, II. 1976.
Chares, f. of Chares, III. 1023, 1108.
Chares, s. of Chares, prytanis, III. 1023; *hypokosmetes*, III. 1108.[1]
Chares, f. of Dem]etrios, III. 68 d.
Charinos, s. of Democharès, *parasitos*, Athenæus, 6. 234 f.
Charinos, f. of Democharès, II. 870.
Chariton, s. of Eros, ephebe, III. 1112.
Chereas, s. of Hermogenes, III. 1644.
Chrysippos, f. of Epaphrion, III. 1138.
Demetrios, s. of Apollodotos, III. 1634.
Dem]etrios, s. of Chares, dedicator, III. 68 d.
Demetrios, f. of Demetrios, III. 1023.
Demetrios, s. of Demetrios, prytanis, III. 1023; f. of Demetri[os and of ——s, III. 1114.[2]
Demetri[os, s. of Demetrios, ephebe, III. 1114.
Demetrios, f. of Euangelos, III. 894 a.
Demetrios, f. of Philemon, III. 1643.
Democharès, f. of Charinos, Athenæus, 6. 234 f.
Democharès, s. of Charinos, prytanis, II. 870.
Democharès, f. of Epicharinos, II. 255, 256, 256 b, 257.
Demokrates, f. of Kallikrates, *Delt. Arch.*, 1890, p. 59.[3]
Diodoros, s. of Philokles, prytanis, II. 872.
Diodot[os, f. of Euphiletos, III. 1237.
Diodotos, s. of Lysias, II. 1048.
Diogenes, f. of Diogen[es and of Karpodoro[s, III. 1099.
Diogen[es, s. of Diogenes, ephebe, III. 1099.
G(aios) Boussenos Dionysio[s, ephebe, III. 1122.
Dio[nysi]os, f. of ——, *Mitth.*, IV. p. 329.
Dionysodoros, s. of Primos, ephebe, III. 1128.
Diophanes, f. of Apollodoros, II. 807. b, 808. a and d, 809. a and d.
Dioteimos, f. of Eublastos, III. 1091.
Diphilos, f. of Diphilos, II. 1258.
Diphilos, s. of Diphilos, choregus, II. 1258.
Diphilos, f. of Diphilos, III. 1635.
Diphilos, s. of Diphilos, III. 1635.
Dorotheos, s. of Prot[eimos, prytanis, III. 1023.
Dositheos, ephebe, III. 1122.
Aur(elios) Eikadikos, *sophronistes*, III. 1199.
Eirenaios, f. of Asandros, III. 799.
Eisidor[o]s, s. of Skymnos, ephebe, III. 1163.

[1] Compare p. 281. [2] Compare p. 291. [3] Compare p. 302, footnote 2.

Eisidoros, s. of Sos——, prytanis, III. 1023.
Eleuseinios, f. of Eleuseinios, III. 1023.
Eleuseinios, s. of Eleuseinios, prytanis, III. 1023.
Eleuseinios, f. of Sokrates, III. 1093.
Epagelas, s. of Epikles, II. 1945.
Epaphrion, s. of Chrysippos, ephebe, III. 1138.
Epaphrion, s. of Seuthes, ephebe, III. 1104.
Aur(elios) Epaphrodi[t]os, s. of S——, ephebe, III. 1128.
Pom. Eperastos, ephebe, III. 1111.[1]
Eperastos, s. of Phirmos, f. of Menandros, *sophronistes*, III. 1128.[1]
Epicharinos, s. of Democharis, secretary of the prytany, II. 255, 256, 256 b, 257.
Epigonos, s. of Eukarpos, ephebe, III. 740, 1113 a.
Epigonos, f. of Menodoros, III. 1119.
Epigonos, f. Straton, III. 1128.
Epikles, arbitrator, II. 943.
Epikles, f. of Epagelas, II. 1945.
E]pikouros, s. of Asklepiodoros, ephebe, III. 1076.
Epikouros, s. of Neokles, philosopher, Diog. Laert., *Vit. Phil.*, 10. 1.
Epikrates, trierarch, II. 791.
Epilykos, s. of Nikostratos, II. 2174.
Epilykos, s. of Stratios, *parasitos*, Athenæus, 6. 234 f.[2]
Eraseinos, f. of Zopyros, III. 1023.
Eros, f. of Chariton, III. 1112.
Euangelos, s. of Demetrios, *ὑποζάκορος*, III. 894 a.
Euangelos, f. of Eukarpos, III. 1163.
E]uainetos (?), f. of Mega[k]l[e]s, II. 870.
M. Oulpios Eubiotos Leuros, s. of Oulpios Leuros, archon *eponymos*, III. 685, 687, 687 a; f. of M. Oulpios Phlaouios Teisamenos, and of M. Oulpios Poupes Maximos, III. 688, 689, 690.
Eublastos, s. of Dioteimos, ephebe, III. 1091.
Eudemos, II. 1965.
Eudemos, s. of Hermeias, prytanis, III. 1023; *ζάκορος*, III. 894 a.
Eudikos, f. of Biottos, *Delt. Arch.*, 1890, p. 82.
Eukarpos, f. of Epigonos, III. 740, 1113 a.
Eukarpos, s. of Euangelos, ephebe, III. 1163.
Eukleides, II. 2532.
Eunomos, s. of Euthynom[os, prytanis, II. 870.
Euphiletos, s. of Diodot[os, ephebe, III. 1237.
Euphranor, s. of Anthesphoros, ephebe, III. 1128.
Euphr]osyne, d. of ——kles, II. 1966.
Euthylochos, thesmothete, II. 859.
Euthynom[os, f. of Eunomos, II. 870.
Eutychia, d. of Bakchylos, III. 1635 a.
Gaios, ephebe, III. 1092.
Gaios, f. of Gaios, III. 1091.
Gaios, s. of Gaios, ephebe, III. 1091.

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[1] Compare p. 294.

[2] Compare p. 278, footnote 8.

Gaios, f. of Or]entes, III. 1093.
Glaukias, f. of Glaukos, II. 465.
Glaukos, s. of Glaukias, ephebe, II. 465.
Glaukos, f. of Hermeias, III. 1023.
Glyke, d. of Hermeros, priestess, III. 1280 a.
Hagnias, f. of Timostrate, II. 1974.
Hegesias, f. of Meixias, II. 872.
Heliodoros, f. of Melite, III. 1640.
Phourios Herakleitos, ephebe, III. 1111; scribe of the senators, III. 1043.
Herakon, s. of Hermogenes, ephebe, III. 1128.
Kl(audios) Herennios, ephebe, III. 1112.
Hermeias, f. of Eudemos, III. 1023, 894 a.
Hermeias, s. of Glaukos, prytanis, *eponymos* of the Ægeid tribe, III. 1023.
Hermeros, s. of Asmenos, prytanis, III. 1023; f. of Sabeinos, III. 1119, 1138; f. of Athenodoros, III. 1120, 1138; f. of Glyke, III. 1280 a; f. of Moschos, III. 1132; f. of Salbios, *Mitth.*, VI. p. 310.[1]
Hermeros, s. of Asmenos, ephebe, III. 1145; *orgeon*, III. 1280 a.[1]
Hermogenes, f. of Chereas, III. 1644.
Hermogenes, f. of Herakon, of Hermogenes, and of Zosimos, III. 1128; *Mitth.*, XVII. p. 275.
Hermogenes, s. of Hermogenes, ephebe, III. 1128; *Mitth.*, XVII. p. 275.
Hermo[gene]s, f. of ——es, III. 66, 1645.
Hermolaos, s. of Rouph[os, prytanis, III. 1023.
Hierophantes, formerly called Phirmos, f. of Phirmos and of Mousonios, III. 1282.
Aur(elios) Hilaros, *sophronistes*, III. 1193.
Iame[ia, d. of [Milichos], III. 1639.
Kallias, f. of Artemon, III. 1091.
Kallikrates, s. of Demokrates, *Delt. Arch.*, 1890, p. 59.[2]
Kalliphon, f. of Peisikrateia, II. 1973.
Kalliphron, f. of Mar(kos) Aur(elios) Kal]liphron, III. 697, 698.
Mar(kos) Aur(elios) Kal]liphron, also called Phronteinos, s. of Kalliphron, f. of Ma]r(kos) Herennios Kal]liphron and of Ma]r(kos) Herennios H——, archon *eponymos*, III. 697, 698.[3]
Ma]r(kos) Herennios Kal]liphron, also called Kor]nelianos, s. of Mar(kos) Aur(elios) Kal]liphron, III. 698; archon *eponymos*, III. 699.[3]
Kalliphron, f. of Aur(elios) Patroklos, III. 1193.[4]

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[1] Compare pp. 294-295.

[2] In this inscription, which contains a list of pateræ dedicated by enfranchised slaves Kalli——, s. of ——k]rates, of Gargettus, and ——s, s. of Demokrates, of Gargettus, are named, in lines 11-12, and 14 respectively, as the masters of two slaves dwelling in Melite. In the following lines Kal]likrates, s. of Demokrates, is mentioned as the master of still another slave living at Melite. Though the deme-name is here lacking, a comparison of this name with the two incomplete ones that precede it led me to believe that we have here the record of three slaves belonging to one and the same master, Kallikrates, s. of Demokrates, of Gargettus.

[3] Compare pp. 283 and 284.

[4] Compare p. 290, footnote 8.

Kallis, d. of Straton, III. 1637.
Likin(nios) Kallistomachos, ephebe, III. 1171.
Karpodoros, f. of Alexis, of Arisemos, and of Zosimos, III. 1128, 1129.
Karpodoro[s, s. of Di]ogenes, ephebe, III. 1099.
Kleopatra, d. of Antipatros, II. 1967.
Kleopatra, d. of Nikandros, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XIII. p. 432.
Kraton, s. of Kuint[ianos, III. 1327.
Kritylla, d. of Antitheos, Aristophanes, *Thesm.*, 898.
Kteo]n, s. of M]ikon, f. of Mikon and of Nikon, II. 1968.
Kuint[ianos, f. of Kraton, III. 1327.
Ky]dadas (?), f. of Pr]osdok(im)os, III. 3905.
Lenaios, ephebe, III. 1077.
Oulpios Leuros, f. of Markos Oulpios Eubiotos Leuros, III. 685.
Lykinos, trierarch, II. 803. e.
Lysias, f. of Diodotos, II. 1048.
Lysidiko[s, s. of ——os, secretary of the treasurers of Athena, IV. pp. 27-28, Add. I. 155–156.
Lysippides, s. of Pasikles, mover of decree, II. 721; trierarch, II. 804. B. b, 808. a, 809. c.[1]
Pho[urios M]arkellos, high-priest, III. 696 a.[2]
Phourios Markellos, ephebe, III. 1121; *kosmetes*, III. 1151.[3]
Phou(rios) Markellos, ephebe, III. 1148, 1149.
Phourios Markos, prytanis, III. 1023.
Phou(rios) Markos, ephebe, III. 1148, 1149.
M. Oulpios Poupes Maximus, s. of M. Oulpios Eubiotos Leuros, III. 688; thesmothete, III. 690, 691.
Mega[k]l[e]s, s. of E]uainetos (?), prytanis, II. 870.
Megistodo(ros), f. of Aphrodeisios, III. 1171.
Meixias, s. of Hegesias, prytanis, II. 872.
Meixia[s, s. of ——, II. 1010.
Melite, d. of Heliodoros, III. 1640.
M[emno]n, f. of Alexandros, III. 1023.
Menandros, s. of Eperastos, ephebe, III. 1128.
Menandros, f. of Menandros, *Mitth.*, XIII. p. 355.
Menandros, s. of Menandros, *Mitth.*, XIII. p. 355.
Menandros, f. of Menandros, III. 1092.
Menandros, s. of Menandros, ephebe, III. 1092.
Menandros, f. of Kl[a]udia Tatarion, III. 218.
Pomponios Menekles, ephebe, II. 1128.
Menestratos, s. of Straton, prytanis, II. 870.
Menias, m. of Zopyros, III. 1636.
Menodoros, f. of Artemon, III. 1144.[4]
Menodoros, s. of Epigonos, ephebe, III. 1119.
Menon, prytanis, *Eph. Arch.*, 1886, p. 14.
M]ikon, f. of Kteo]n, II. 1968.

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[1] Compare p. 280.
[2] Compare p. 284.
[3] Compare p. 282.
[4] Compare p. 290, footnote 5.

Mikon, s. of K]teon, II. 1968.
Milichos, f. of Iame[ia, of Milichos, and of ——, III. 1639.
Milichos, s. of Milichos, III. 1639.
Mnesikles, f. of Mnesikles, II. 470.
Mnesikles, s. of Mnesikles, ephebe, II. 470.
Moschos, s. of Hermeros, *antikosmetes*, III. 1132.
Mousaios, f. of ——os, III. 1646.
Mousonia, III. 1647.[1]
Mousonios, also called Boutachios, s. of Hierophantes, III. 1282.
Myron, f. of ——s, III. 1240.
Mystikos, f. of Aphrodisios and of Mystikos, III. 1121.
Mystikos, s. of Mystikos, ephebe, III. 1121.
Mystikos, s. of Satyros, ephebe, III. 1128, 1129.
N]eikon, f. of ——, III. 1174.
Neokles, f. of Epikouros, of Neokles, of Chairedemos, and of Aristoboulos, Diog. Laert., *Vit. Phil.*, 10. 2.
Neokles, s. of Neokles, b. of Epikouros, Diog. Laert., *Vit. Phil*,. 10. 2.
Nikandros, f. of Kleopatra, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XIII. p. 432.
Nikias, f. of Primigenes, III. 1128.
Nikokrates, s. of Aphrodisios, ephebe, III. 1100.
Nikon, son of K]teon, II. 1968.
Nikostratos, s. of ——, priest for life, III. 922.
Nikostratos, f. of Epilykos, II. 2174.
Loukios Noummios Nigrinos, f. of Noummia Bassa, *hierokeryx*, III. 904, 905, 660, 1283.
Olympias, d. of Chairephon, II. 1971.
Olympios, III. 3896.
Aur(elios) Onesimos, ephebe, III. 1202.
Or]entes, s. of Gaios, ephebe, III. 1093.
Ouipsanios, ephebe, III. 1092.
P]antainos, archon *eponymos*, III. 1092.
Pa]ntakl[es, s. of Ar]iston, II. 1972, III. 1642.
P[antakl]es, f. of Ariston, II. 985. E.[2]
Pappos, s. of Zoster, ephebe, III. 1104.
Pardalas, s. of Stephanos, ephebe, III. 1111; *hyposophronistes*, III. 1122.
Pasikles, f. of Lysippides, II. 721, 804. B. b, 808. a.
Aur(elios) Patroklos, s. of Kalliphron, ephebe, III. 1193.[3]
Pausias, f. of Ar[e]sias, II. 872.
Peisandros, ephebe, III. 1147.
Peisikrateia, d. of Kalliphon, II. 1973.
Phalanthos, f. of ——andros, II. 324.
Phanostra[tos, superintendent of dockyards, II. 789 a.
Phanostratos, trierarch, II. 795. f.; s. of Archestratos, II. 809. d, 811. b.[4]
Pharnakos, f. of ——on, and of ——, II. 481.

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[1] Compare Hicks, *Insc. Mus. Brit.*, p. 143.
[2] Compare p. 281.
[3] Compare p. 290, footnote 8.
[4] Compare p. 293.

[Phaustinos], f. of Ph]austinos, III. 1112.
Ph]austinos, s. of [Phaustinos], ephebe, III. 1112.
Philemon, III. 2143.
Philem[on, III. 1550.
Philemon, s. of Demetrios, III. 1643.
Phi]lodemos, f. of Ploutarche, II. 2558.
Philokedes, f. of Smikrias, II. 872.
Philokles, f. of Diodoros, II. 872.
Philokrates, f. of Philonides, II. 1975.
Philonides, s. of Aischylides, II. 1975.
Philonides, s. of Philokrates, II. 1975.
Philoumenos, f. of A]ntoneinos, III. 1138.
Liki[n]nios Phirmo[s, priest, III. 721 a.
Po(plios) Phirmos, *sophronistes*, III. 1112; f. of Agathemeros, III. 1112; f. of Eperastos, III. 1128; f. of Phirmos, III. 1121.[1]
Phirmos, s. of Phirmos, *hyposophronistes*, III. 1121; f. of Phirmos, III. 1128.
Phirmos, s. of Phirmos, ephebe, III. 1128.
Phirmos, s. of Hierophantes, III. 1282.
Ploutarche, d. of Phi]lodemos, II. 2558.
Polyeukto[s, s. of ——, II. 1010.
Pomponios, s. of Zoster, ephebe, III. 1104; prytanis, III. 1023.[2]
Po[pli]os, f. of Theophrastos, III. 1023.
Preimigenes, f. of Preimigenes, III. 1280 a.
Preimigenes, s. of Preimigenes, *orgeon*, III. 1280 a.
Preimos, s. of Proteimos, prytanis, III. 1023; f. of Preimos, III. 1142.[3]
Preimos, s. of Preimos, ephebe, III. 1142.
Primigenes, s. of Nikias, ephebe, III. 1128.
Primos, f. of Dionysodoros, III. 1128.
Pr]osdok(im)os, s. of Ky]dadas (?), ἀντιγραφεύς, III. 3905.
Proteimos, f. of Preimos and of Dorotheos, III. 1023.
Pyrrhinos, contributor, II. 983. ii.
Pyrrichos, f. of Theopompos, II. 172.
Pythodoros, f. of Xenar[i]ste, II. 1137.
Markos Laberios Rouphos, III. 1638.
Rouph[os, f. of Hermolaos, III. 1023.
Sabeinos, s. of Hermeros, ephebe, III. 1119; f. of Sabeinos, *sophronistes*, III. 1138.[4]
Sabeinos, s. of Sabeinos, ephebe, III. 1138.
Salbios, s. of Ath[enodoros, ephebe, III. 1145.[5]
Salbios, s. of Hermeros, superintendent, *Mitth.*, VI. p. 310.
Satyros, f. of Mystikos, III. 1128, 1129.
Serapion, s. of S[o]philos, *hyposophronistes*, III. 1144.
Seuthes, f. of Epaphrion, III. 1104.
Sil]anos, f. of Sil]a[n]os, II. 469.
Sil]a[n]os, s. of Sil]anos, ephebe, II. 469.

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[1] Compare pp. 293 and 294.
[2] Compare p. 281.
[3] Compare p. 290, footnote 4.
[4] Compare p. 294.
[5] Compare p. 295.

Skymnos, f. of Eisidor[o]s, III. 1163.
Smikrias, s. of Philokedes, prytanis, II. 872.
Sokrates, s. of Eleuseinios, ephebe, III. 1093.
S[o]philos, f. of Serapion, III. 1144.
Sotion, ephebe, III. 1092.
Stephanos, f. of Pardalas, III. 1111, 1122.
Stratios, f. of Epilykos, Athenæus, 6. 234 f.[1]
Stratios, s. of Timanor, *Delt. Arch.*, 1888, p. 25.
Straton, s. of Epigonos, ephebe, III. 1128.
Straton, f. of Kallis, III. 1637.
Straton, f. of Menestratos, II. 870.
Sybarites, *hieropoios*, *Athenaion*, VI. p. 483.
Kl[a]udia Tatarion, d. of Menandros, priestess, III. 218.
Klaudia Teimothea, d. of Teimotheos, priestess, III. 828, 899.
Teimotheos, f. of Klaudia Teimothea, III. 828.
M. Oulpios Phlaouios Teisamenos, s. of M. Oulpios Eubiotos Leuros, thesmothete, III. 688, 689.
Tele]sphoros, f. of ——, III. 1132.
Theodosia, d. of Zopyros, III. 1636.
Theophilos, s. of Apollonios, ephebe, II. 465.
Theophrastos, s. of Po[pli]os, prytanis, III. 1023.
Theophrastos, f. of Theophrastos, III. 1093.
Theophrastos, s. of Theophrastos, ephebe, III. 1093.
Theopompos, s. of Pyrrichos, II. 172.
Theopompos, f. of ——yrrhinos, II. 420.
Timanor, f. of Stratios, *Delt. Arch.*, 1888, p. 25.
Timonides, trierarch, II. 790. b, 792. a.
Timostrate, d. of Hagnias, II. 1974.
T]rophimos, s. of Zopyros, ephebe, III. 1138.
G(aios) Boussenos Tychikos, ephebe, III. 1122.
Xenar[i]ste, d. of Pythodoros, II. 1137.
Zenon, f. of Zenon, III. 3568.
Zenon, s. of Zenon, III. 3568.
Zo[p]yros, f. of ——, II. 324.
Zopyros, s. of Eraseinos, prytanis, III. 1023.
Zopyros, s. of Menias, f. of Theodosia, III. 1636.
Zopyros, f. of T]rophimos, III. 1138.
Zosimos, s. of Karpodoros, ephebe, III. 1128, 1129.
Zosimos, s. of Hermogenes, ephebe, III. 1128.
Zoster, f. of Pappos and of Pomponios, III. 1104, 1023.[2]
A——on, f. of ——s, *Mitth.*, VIII. p. 58, Beilage.
——n Epikourianos, ephebe, III. 1160.
G——, s. of ——oros, priest for life, III. 707.
Ma]r(kos) Herennios H——, also called Alexandros, s. of Mar(kos) Aur(elios) Kal]liphron, III. 698.
Kall——, *Mitth.*, XII. p. 84.

[1] Compare p. 278, footnote 8.

[2] Compare p. 281.

Kleom——, II. 1967 b.
Lys——, II. 1969.
Mene——, III. 1641.
Mnesi——, s. of ——, II. 1010.
Py——, s. of ——, II. 1010.
S——, f. of Aur(elios) Epaphrodi[t]os, III. 1128.
Sos——, f. of Eisidoros, III. 1023.
——andros, s. of Phalanthos, ephebe, II. 324.
——a]ndros, trierarch, II. 798. c.
——an]dros, commissioner, II. 739.
——des, ephebe, III. 1094.
——des, president of the *proedroi*, *Eph. Arch.*, 1890, pp. 82, 171.
——dias, s. of ——os, *Mitth.*, XII. p. 84.
——es, s. of Hermo[gene]s, dedicator, III. 66, 1645.
——e]s, ephebe, III. 1076.
——ios, f. of ——, III. 1132.
——kleid]es, treasurer of Athena, II. 677.
——kles, f. of Euphr]osyne, II. 1966.
——kl]es, f. of ——, II. 187.
——lei]des, II. 731, 732.
——lias, trierarch, II. 811. d.
——l—mos, ephebe, III. 1112.
——los, III. 3851.
——nios, trierarch, II. 799. b.
——n]on, f. of ——non, III. 1647.
——non, s. of ——n]on, III. 1647.
——on, s. of Pharnakos, ephebe, II. 481.
——oros, f. of G——, III. 707.
——os, f. of ——dias, *Mitth.*, XII. p. 84.
——os, f. of Lysidiko[s, IV., pp. 27, 28, Add. I. 155–156.
——os, s. of Mousaios, III. 1646.
——os, f. of ——, III. 1114.
——os, f. of ——, III. 1132.
——os, f. of ——, III. 1236.
——ro——, II. 640.
——s, f. of Attikos, III. 1136.
——s, s. of Chairephon, mover of decree, *Bull. corr. hell.*, IX. p. 58.
——s, s. of Demetrios, ephebe, III. 1114.
——s, s. of Myron, III. 1240.
——s, d. of A—on, *ergastine*, *Mitth.*, VIII. p. 58, Beilage.
——s, s. of ——tos, ephebe, *Mitth.*, IV. p. 329.
——s, ephebe, III. 1130.
——s]tratos, f. of ——, II. 782.
——ton, ephebe, III. 1092.
——tos, f. of ——s, *Mitth.*, IV. p. 329.
——tos, f. of ——, III. 1085.
—yrrhinos, s. of Theopompos, superintendent, II. 420.[1]

[1] Compare p. 280, footnote 11.

——, s. of Dio[nysi]os, ephebe, *Mitth.*, IV. p. 329.
——, f. of Meixia[s, II. 1010.
——, d. of M]ilichos, III. 1639.
——, s. of N]eikon, ephebe, III. 1174.
——, f. of Nikostratos, III. 922.
——, s. of Pha]rnakos, ephebe, II. 481.
——, f. of Polyeukto[s, II. 1010.
——, s. of Tele]sphoros, ephebe, III. 1132.
——, s. of Zo[p]yros, ephebe, II. 324.
——, f. of Mnesi——, II. 1010.
——, f. of Py——, II. 1010.
——, s. of ——ios, ephebe, III. 1132.
——, s. of ——kl]es, mover of decree, II. 187.
——, s. of ——os, ephebe, III. 1114.
——, s. of ——os, ephebe, III. 1132.
——, s. of ——os, ephebe, III. 1236.
——, s. of ——s]tratos, II. 782.
——, s. of ——tos, ephebe, III. 1085.
——, ephebe, III. 1132.
——, ephebe, III. 1132.
——, mover of decree, *Eph. Arch.*, 1886, p. 107.
——, II. 394.
——, II. 1970.

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APPENDIX.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

TABLE I.

1. Phanostra[tus
   superintendent of dockyards, 373/2 B.C.

2. Archestra]tus = Archestratus = Archestratus
   trierarch, 377/6 B.C.

3. Ph]anostratus = Phano]stratus — Archicles
   trierarch, 353/2 B.C. — trierarch, 325/4 B.C. — trierarch, 334/3 B.C.

TABLE II.

1. Calliphron = Calliphron

2. Calliphron = Marcus Aurelius Cal]liphron
   archon *eponymos* — archon *eponymos*

3. Ma]rcus Herennius H——, Ma]rcus Herennius Cal]liphron = Cornelianus
   also called Alexandrus — also called Cor]nelianus — archon *eponymos*

TABLE III.

1. Licinnius Atticus, prytanis, 139/40 A.D. — Licinnius Arrianus = Licinnius Arrianus, prytanis, 139/40 A.D.

2. Gnæus Licinnius Atticus, ephebe, 126/7 A.D. = Licinnius Atticus, prytanis, 139/40 A.D. = Gnæus Licinnius Atticus, superintendent, 161–169 A.D. = Atticus

3. Atticus, ephebe, 166–169 A.D.

TABLE IV.

1. Poplius Firmus, *sophronistes*, 141/2 A.D. = Firmus = Firmus = Firmus

2. Firmus, *hyposophronistes*, 156/7 A.D. = Firmus — Agathemerus, ephebe, 141/2 A.D. — Eperastus, *sophronistes*, 165/6 A.D. = Eperastus = Pomponius Eperastus, ephebe, 129–138 A.D.

3. Firmus, ephebe, 165/6 A.D. — Menandrus, ephebe, 165/6 A.D.

TABLE V.

1. Asmenus

2. Hermerus, prytanis, 139/40 A.D. = Hermerus = Hermerus = Hermerus = Hermerus = Hermerus = Hermerus = Hermerus = Hermerus

3. Asmenus = A[smenus — Sabinus, ephebe, 150/1 A.D. = Sabinus, *sophronistes*, 174–178 A.D. = Sabinus — Athenodorus, ephebe, 151/2 A.D. = Athenodorus, *hyposophronistes*, 174–178 A.D. = Athenodorus = Ath[enodorus — Moschus, *antikosmetes*, 166–169 A.D. — Salbius, superintendent, about 200 A.D. — Glyce, priestess, about 200 A.D.

4. Hermerus = Hermerus, *orgeon*, about 200 A.D. — ephebe, 185–192 A.D. — Sabinus, ephebe, 174–178 A.D. — Athenodorus, ephebe, 174–178 A.D. — Salbius, ephebe, 185–192 A.D.

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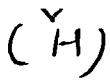

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